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# ***Daily Report***

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# **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-89-132  
Wednesday  
12 July 1989

# Daily Report

## Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-89-132

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12 July 1989

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**Ivory Coast, Egypt, Zaire Join APPA Oil Group**  
*AB1007214489 Paris AFP in French 2125 GMT  
9 Jul 89*

[Text] Brazzaville, 9 Jul (AFP)—Egypt, Ivory Coast, and Zaire have decided to join the African Petroleum Producers Association (APPA), it was officially learned yesterday at the end of the 5th ministerial session of the APPA in Brazzaville.

A final communique released in the Congolese capital after a 2-day meeting states that the council "noted with satisfaction the development of the world petroleum market situation, which is marked by a general upward trend in the demand for oil and a stabilization of its price."

It expressed satisfaction with efforts made by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to support the stability of the market, believing like the latter that such stability "called first and foremost for the effective cooperation of other producer countries."

A 3-year action program was drawn up to be launched in 1990. It covers all the major areas of the oil industry: exploration, production, refinery, petrochemicals, training, organization, management, marketing and transport, and technical cooperation among member countries.

Mr Souedi Mohamed (Algeria) was appointed executive secretary of the association for a 3-year term of office. Mr Julien Epiga (Gabon) was appointed chairman of the Council of Ministers while the post of vice chairman went to Libya.

Created in January 1987 in Lagos (Nigeria) with headquarters in Brazzaville, the APPA was until now made up of eight members, namely Algeria, Angola, Benin, Cameroon, Congo, Gabon, Libya, and Nigeria. Tunisia attended the Brazzaville meeting as an observer.

**APPA Urges Support for OPEC**

*AB1107204989 Dakar PANA in English 1418 GMT  
11 Jul 89*

[Excerpts] Brazzaville, 11 July (ACI/PANA)—The African Petroleum Producers Association (APPA) has elected Algerian Souidi Mohamed, as its first secretary general for a three-year mandate, according to reports on Tuesday. [passage omitted]

A statement issued at the end of the ministerial meeting called on member countries to support the efforts of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to stabilise the price of petroleum in the world market.

At a meeting in Brazzaville on Sunday [9 July], Congolese President Denis Sassou-Nguesso urged OPEC President Rilwanu Lukman, who is also Nigeria's minister of petroleum, to enable APPA benefit from the experience of the OPEC.

"If the price of the product falls, it is due to speculation," he said, adding that the two organisations should work together to stabilise the price.

Lukman, who said that this was the major preoccupation of APPA, noted that the demand for petroleum would increase to 24 million barrels per day later in 1989, but said that OPEC would keep its production to 19 million barrels per day.

The minister said that the price has been stabilised at between 17 and 18 US dollars per barrel and commended the June 5 OPEC meeting in Vienna for doing a very good work.

**SADCC, European Body Sign Land, Water Accord**  
*MB0707083789 Gaborone Domestic Service in English  
0510 GMT 7 Jul 89*

[Text] An agreement of over 5 million pula for the regional resource and training center for land and water management project has been signed between SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] and the Commission of European Communities.

The minister of finance and development planning, Mr Peter Mmusi, signed in his capacity as chairman of the SADCC Council of Ministers, while the vice president of the Commission of European Communities, Mr Manuel Moran, signed on behalf of his organization. A press release from Mr Mmusi's office indicates that the project was approved with a grant from the (?sixth) European development fund by the commission on 28 February this year.

One of the objectives of the project, which is being financed from the regional funds allocated to SADCC countries, is the construction of a resource and training center comprising a soil physics laboratory and training facilities. The center will be located at [name indistinct].

The other objective is the training of soil scientists from SADCC countries. The training will be varied and practically oriented and will include workshops, seminars, and applied-research diploma degrees, and higher level degrees.

**Banks of C. Africa Approve Mozambique as Member**  
*MB1906185589 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese  
1730 GMT 19 Jun 89*

[Text] The meeting of the association of governors of the Central Banks of Africa has unanimously approved Mozambique as the 34th member of the association.

According to a note received at our news desk, the meeting also approved the following: the report on the activities of the association and the African Monetary Study Center for the 1987-88 period, the proceedings program, and the budget for the next 2 years. The 11th ordinary session of the association of Central Banks of Africa was held in Freetown, Sierra Leone, from 14 to 17 June.

Mozambique was represented at the meeting by a delegation from the Mozambique Bank led by Governor Eneas Comiche.

**\* Privatization Prospects in Africa Assessed**  
34190270 Paris LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE  
in French May 89 pp 26-27

[Article by Marie-Claude Celeste: "Open Doors, Closed Doors on a Continent Lacking Capital: The Great Adventure of Privatization in Africa"]

[Text] In one decade, 28 African states—among the 42 less developed countries on the planet—have seen their debt triple; it now exceeds \$40 billion. In spite of the draconian measures imposed on this continent by the IMF and the World Bank, the end of the crisis is not in sight. As local financial resources are lacking, the privatization of the economy plays into the hands of foreign firms, whereas small- and medium-size businesses have trouble emerging. Still, these small- and medium-size businesses offer a chance to African economies looking for development.

The wind of liberalism that has been blowing since the beginning of the decade did not spare Sub-Saharan Africa. For a long time the subject of public obloquy, because equated with colonialism, the private sector is now being rehabilitated. All over Africa, projects designed to promote private initiative are growing in number.

Africa now has a "round table for businessmen from the private sector," which was created by the African Development Bank (ADB); its 25 members meet every third month in an African country. Members include solely business heads who have proved themselves in the field, to the exclusion of those "who got rich in the corridors of power," as one expert put it. The objective of this group is to create interest in the private sector, not just on the continent, but also abroad.

Thus, following an exploratory mission of this round table in Tokyo, in January 1989, a group of Japanese businessmen went to Niger last March, to study market prospects in the mining and tourism sectors, which Niamey authorities intend to develop. Niger has also created a business promotion office, and Senegal a national company to establish and promote industries.

In March 1989, through the impetus given by the UN Development Program (UNDP), a management service company was created to provide African private businesses with the material and human assistance they might need.

All these initiatives were actively encouraged by international financial institutions, which were also the first to advocate the development of the private sector in Africa. Thus, the adjustment programs developed with their help now recognize the role of an informal sector that had long been ignored or disparaged. Also, in 1986, the International Finance Corporation (IFC), a subsidiary of the World Bank, created a department for the promotion and development of private investments in Africa, which looks for, identifies and studies projects.

It has already received over 1,000 applications. They cover the most diverse sectors: quarries in Mali, coffee packaging in Malawi, hand-operated pumps in Tanzania, rose growing in Nigeria (cost: \$1.4 million), pencil manufacturing in the Ivory Coast (cost: \$1.1 million). More recently, the IFC has created the African Enterprise Facility (AEF), whose procedures are much faster and which finances more modest projects. For there is no lack of individual projects in Africa. "Many Africans," the IFC explained, "with the potential to be excellent businessmen, have chosen politics and administration because, until recently, these would confer more social prestige and immediate material benefits."

Today, probably prompted by similar motives, African politicians and cadres are discovering their calling to become businessmen. But as they lack financial and human resources, their ambitions soon find limits. Thus, out of over 1,000 projects examined by the IFC, only about 100 were considered viable.

This renewed interest for private enterprise will, it seems, benefit mostly foreign companies; for the time being, they are the only ones to have the money and expertise required to develop the private sector. In Togo, the state textile company Togotex was taken over from [sic] a U.S.-Korean company for about \$9.5 million, with help from the IFC.

It was an American businessman who acquired the Togolese Steelmaking Company in 1984. He is said to be also interested in some Ivorian businesses. When the IFC announced its intention to offer an almost total guarantee to foreign investments in the Third World, large U.S. companies immediately showed interest for regions that until now had been viewed as "risk" zones, and therefore ignored. These companies include the Sheraton hotel chain and the Shearson Lehman investment company of New York.

In Guinea, the reorganization of the banking sector benefited subsidiaries of French financial institutions, including Societe Generale and the National Bank of

Paris (BNP). The Bonagui company (a Guinean manufacturer of non-alcoholic beverages) was sold to the Coca-Cola and Stella Artois groups. And a foreign consortium consisting of Shell, Total and the Italian group AGIP is expected to take over the Guinean National Petroleum Office. In Tanzania, 4 sisal operations out of 20 or so were taken over by a private foreign company in March 1986.

Still more surprising is the rehabilitation of the British multinational Lonhro on a continent where it was totally discredited although still omnipresent. In 1978, some 20 Lonhro subsidiaries were nationalized in Tanzania, as retaliation: the group was charged with violating the United Nations embargo against Rhodesia. Severely criticized in all OAU countries, the multinational seemed threatened on the continent from which it derives most of its profits.

Today, Lonhro is closely interested in the reopening of the Benguela railroad which, among other things, would make Zambia independent from South Africa for its foreign trade. Negotiations are said to be in progress for Lonhro to buy Benguela Railways stock that is now held by the British government. According to the British daily *FINANCIAL TIMES*<sup>1</sup>, Lonhro also bought state-owned farms from the Mozambique state, and it intends to grow cotton for exportation. And at the very same time, in South Africa, the British Lonhro was taking over some of the operations of the Canadian Falconbridge, which was "disinvesting" as a protest against apartheid.

Several African states have recently developed legislation that is quite favorable to foreign investors. In Ghana, for instance, investors—with the exception of companies operating in the mining and oil sectors—benefit from export tax exemptions and investment subsidies.

Behind the enthusiasm, one sometimes perceives some apprehension, especially in union circles. For, as a Zimbabwe journalist asked, will the rehabilitation of the private sector not amount quite simply to "a multinationals' return in strength to Africa"? To obviate this risk, Senegal created a savings company and a financial market designed to make it possible for nationals to buy state-owned and parastatal companies. These efforts have already borne some fruits. Members of the personnel of the Salins company, which used to be 100-percent owned by the Senegalese state, decided to buy the company. Similarly, high officials and veterinarians bought the Dakar natural resources operating company.

A seminar on "the mobilization of domestic savings" was held late last year in Guinea; it was sponsored by several African central banks. The objective is obviously to channel the funds of the very popular "tontines" toward official circuits (see Maligui Soumah's article below [not reproduced]).

In the same perspective, the government is trying to revive the dozen of Stock Exchanges that exist in Africa, from Abidjan to Harare, and including Lagos, Cairo and Tunis. And measures are contemplated to repatriate at least part of the capital that fled the continent in the past few years. From 1981 to 1986, these transfers amounted to \$15.5 billion for Nigeria alone; in Senegal they are estimated at Fr70 billion per year.

### Profitable State-Owned Companies

These projects, however, imply other obstacles. Indeed, officials fear they may benefit mostly specific ethnic communities with large financial resources, such as the 60,000 Indians of Kenya or the Lebanese of West Africa (some 180,000 of whom already reside in the Ivory Coast), who already enjoy considerable influence in trade matters. This might, of course, worsen some already strong antagonisms.

Other ambiguities mark this evolution. In fact, African states do not intend to leave the field clear for the private sector, in particular the foreign private sector. Actually, they are assigning it precise objectives that some business heads may find hardly compatible with the climate of freedom they feel is indispensable to promote their activities.

Mr Adebayo Adedeji, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), stated that foreign private companies must alter their behavior in three respects. "They must show more than their present very mild interest in food production for local consumption..."; 20 to 25 percent of the new investments should be devoted to this sector. Also, the "development of the natural resources" of the continent must be linked to its industrial development, in order to put an end to "colonial practices." And, finally, African states would like private enterprise to assume social responsibilities, in particular by reinvesting part of its profits in housing, health, education or training. But social consideration and philanthropy are seldom a major concern of foreign investors in Africa.

Private buyers also have demands. The companies that African states intend to sell are sometimes so much in the red that no buyer wishes to take over these "lame ducks." To obviate this, Senegal did not hesitate to sell some of its most profitable hotel activities. In addition, conditions favorable to the development of private initiative seldom exist, even through certain states, imitating international organizations, have taken some daring steps to promote such conditions, especially as far as prices and interest and exchange rates are concerned.

Besides, African states have no choice. Heavily in debt, governments can no longer maintain monstrous public sectors, which are usually inefficient and consume much capital. From 1982 to 1986, in Congo, state aids to state-owned businesses amounted to 400 billion CFA



francs<sup>2</sup>. In Morocco, the 700 businesses forming the state-owned and parastatal sectors every year absorb nearly 10 percent of all state resources.

In Tanzania, nationalized operations produced only 38,000 tons of sisal in 1985, down from 230,000 tons 20 years before. In Guinea, over one half of the products imported by the National Hydrocarbons Office (ONAH) were sold on the black market.

Selling back part of these businesses to the private sector, will, therefore, relieve governments from a responsibility they could no longer assume. The only remaining reservations, here and there, have to do with the resulting social risks—in particular increased unemployment in a region where 45 percent of the population is already unemployed.

Actually the favor enjoyed by the private sector is such that, on behalf of the ADB, Mr Babacar N'Diaye had to ask African officials "to be very careful not to tip the scales too far toward the private sector: for, in Africa, the public sector still has a fundamental part to play." For his part, the executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Africa, made it his duty to recall that public sector did not have to be synonymous with poor management and inefficiency. Some African state-owned businesses do make a profit. For instance, the Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines, the largest state-owned company in the country, made a profit of 372 million kwacha (\$45 million) in 1987, after several years of heavy losses.

In a study made for the ADB, Mr N. N. Susungi, assistant director of the ADB department of infrastructure and industry, provided several examples of state-owned companies which "work well." They include the following:

Company	Country	Return on its own capital
Royal Air Morocco	Morocco	31.9 percent
Hydrocongo	Congo	252 percent
Cimencam	Cameroon	29.6 percent
Palminindustrie	Ivory Coast	25 percent

The same document shows that many private sector businesses are heavily in the red. They include the Senegalese Sugar Company, with losses estimated at Fr32 million; Ivodis (Ivorian Distribution) of the Ivory Coast (Fr13 million); Zaire SEP (Fr47 million), etc.

In spite of all, many see private enterprise as the new panacea of African development.

#### Footnotes

1. FINANCIAL TIMES, 13 July 1987
2. 1 CFA franc = Fr0.02

## Ethiopia

### Sudanese Delegation Arrives 11 Jul

EA1107103089 Addis Ababa Domestic Service in Amharic  
0900 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] A delegation from the new Sudanese Government arrived in Addis Ababa this morning. The delegation, which is led by Colonel Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah [a member of the Revolutionary Command Council], was welcomed at Bole International Airport by Comrade Fasil Naom, head of external relations at the State Council. Also present to welcome the delegation were Comrade Feleke Tabor, Ethiopia's ambassador to Sudan, and staff members of the Sudanese Embassy in Ethiopia.

### Government To Mediate Sudan Conflict

NC1107192089 Paris AFP in English 1847 GMT  
11 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Addis Ababa, July 11 (AFP)—Ethiopia on Tuesday agreed to mediate between the new Sudanese government and the rebel Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) to end the six-year civil war in Sudan, the leader of a Sudanese government delegation said here.

Lieutenant-Colonel Muhammad al-Amin Khalifah said President Mengistu Haile Mariam accepted a request to that effect from junta President Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir.

The request was contained in a message he delivered to the Ethiopian leader just hours after arriving in the Ethiopian capital.

Col. Khalifah, who is a member of the military Command Council of the Revolution of National Salvation (CCRNS) which overthrew the regime of Prime Minister Sadiq al-Mahdi on June 30, said the message from the Sudanese president was in response to one sent by President Mengistu last week. [passage omitted]

General al-Bashir and the Ethiopian head of state would pursue further Addis Ababa's role to end the Sudanese conflict during the Organization of African Unity (OAU) summit here July 24-27, Col. Khalifah said.

This was the first indication that the new ruler in Khartoum would attend the forthcoming OAU summit.

Col. Khalifah spoke of "misunderstandings" between Khartoum and Addis Ababa during the administration of Prime Minister al-Mahdi and said the purpose of his visit was also "to express our goodwill to cooperate and to negotiate any problems in peace". [passage omitted]

Col. Khalifah also said he carried a second letter from General al-Bashir for the commander-in-chief of the SPLA, Colonel John Garang.

He expected to make contact with the rebel leadership on Tuesday night but was uncertain whom his delegation would meet as Col. Garang was reported to be out of town.

The authorities in Khartoum wanted to invite the SPLA leader to negotiate in good faith as they had already demonstrated their goodwill to end the civil war, Col. Khalifah said.

He referred in particular to the ceasefire the military junta had declared unilaterally after seizing power 11 days ago.

However, he expected contact with the SPLA to be "exploratory" at this stage, saying his delegation's mission was to explain the new policies outlined by the new government.

The four-man Sudanese team plans to fly back to Khartoum on Wednesday.

### Berhanu on Egypt, Carter Roles in Peace Talks

AB1007201389 Paris AFP in English 1447 GMT  
10 Jul 89

[Text] Addis Ababa, July 10 (AFP)—Ethiopian Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayeh Monday dismissed as "media speculation" reports that Egypt and former United States President Jimmy Carter would act as observers during proposed peace talks between the government and rebels in northern Eritrea.

Though he said he expected the peace talks to take place "before long", the minister repeated earlier assertions that the question of observers would have to be mutually agreed upon by the rebels and the Ethiopian Government.

He did not even confirm whether Egypt and Mr. Carter were being considered for the role despite press reports that both were front-runners.

A six-point peace plan proposed June 5 by Ethiopia's National Shengo, or parliament, to end the 28-year secessionist war in Ethiopia's northernmost province of Eritrea, accepted that observers should attend the peace talks and that these should be held "in public" for the first time.

There are indications that Addis Ababa prefers prominent world figures to governments or organizations for the role, but the minister was reluctant to name the individual or party of his country's choice.

Mr. Carter paid a two-day visit to Addis Ababa last April and is believed to have maintained contact with both sides.

Mr. Berhanu, asked about his reactions to an offer by Sweden last week to mediate in the recent peace initiative, said that the Ethiopian Government had received no direct communication to this effect from Stockholm.

In any event, Mr. Berhanu said, there was no provision for mediators in the plan and Addis Ababa preferred direct talks with the insurgents.

His comments to the press came after a meeting the minister held at the Foreign Ministry here with Organization of African Unity (OAU) Secretary-General Ide Oumarou and the acting dean of the diplomatic community, Ambassador Khalifah Bazelyah of Libya.

Telling the two men that world reaction to Ethiopia's peace initiative had been "encouraging", he said this response had had a "positive influence" on the attitude of the rebels themselves.

The peace offer, which is "basically" for Eritrea but also embraces insurgents fighting for greater autonomy in Tigre Province to the south, has been accepted by both groups.

"I wish to thank you all for the part you have played with a view to obtain a positive and correct reaction to our peace initiative," Mr. Berhanu told the two men, expecting them to convey the message to African states and the diplomatic community in general.

"At present, we are tackling the groundwork for holding the proposed peace talks," Mr. Berhanu said adding: "I am confident that it will not be long before we start preliminary discussions."

Last week, on his return from a seven-nation European tour, the minister said what remained to be agreed was a venue and date for the talks to start.

Mr. Oumarou said the establishment of peace and stability in OAU member states was an ideal cherished by the panafrican body, which wanted them to divert their resources from conflict to tackling much-needed economic development.

He would spare no efforts to see that African countries supported Ethiopia's peace initiative, he said.

Mr. Bazelyah assured the minister that the diplomatic community in Addis Ababa would continue to back the plan as it has done from the start.

#### **Terms Talks 'Not Far Off'**

EA1007211589 Addis Ababa Domestic Service  
in Ahmaric 1700 GMT 10 Jun 89

[Text] Comrade Berhanu Bayeh has said that preparations are underway to hold talks in accordance with the peace initiative issued by the National Shengo on 5 June 1989. Comrade Berhanu Bayeh, member of the Political

Bureau of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and foreign minister, stated this today in a briefing he gave to the acting dean of diplomatic missions in Ethiopia, representatives of international organizations, and the secretary general of the OAU, on recent progress concerning the peace initiative. Nigist Selfu reads us the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY's report:

[Begin Nigist recording] Comrade Berhanu said that the time for convening the meeting was not far off, adding that international pressure was necessary if the efforts being made to solve the problem in northern Ethiopia were to succeed. He noted that numerous governments had given encouraging and constructive support to the peace initiative and that these gestures of peace had encouraged those concerned to give positive responses. He added that the opinions of governments contained in messages and the talks his delegation had held in Europe had demonstrated their positive attitude toward Ethiopia's unity and territorial integrity.

Comrade Berhanu explained that members of diplomatic missions in Addis Ababa appreciated Ethiopia's positive approach to peace and had themselves contributed toward this end. He went on to say that peace and security were necessary for the people to actively participate in building the nation, adding that this could only be attained once all citizens supported the new peace initiative.

In a speech on the occasion, the secretary of the Socialist Libyan Arab Jamahiriya Bureau in Ethiopia and acting dean of diplomatic missions in Ethiopia, Brother Khalifah Bazelvah, pointed out that the peace initiative had gained support from the international community and African countries, and stated that he would convey this message to diplomats in Ethiopia.

For his part, the OAU secretary general, Mr Ide Oumarou, said that inasmuch as Ethiopia's peace effort had secured her great admiration, the OAU would make the necessary efforts to ensure that all African countries gave their full support to the peace initiative. [end recording]

#### **Eritrea Radio on Coup-Related Deaths in Asmera**

EA0907205389 (Clandestine) Voice of the Broad Masses  
of Eritrea in Tigrinya 1500 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Reliable sources in Asmera have said that the number killed for allegedly taking part in the coup attempt to overthrow Colonel Mengistu Haile Mariam in May had reached more than 480. They confirmed that of those killed, 40 had been high-ranking commanders and other members of the 2d Revolutionary Army, which is stationed in Eritrea. The sources said that 230 others had been imprisoned, increasing to more than 700 the number of officers, troops, and other persons holding Army-related jobs who had either been killed or imprisoned.



This figure is more than double the figure of about 190 officers and troops killed and imprisoned that Col Mengistu disclosed in the news conference he gave to journalists last month. Col Mengistu has issued strong warnings that the actual numbers and identity of those killed and imprisoned should not be disclosed.

## Kenya

### Minister Condemns Bishops on Rich-Poor-Gap Claim EA0807205089 Nairobi Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Excerpts] The minister for energy, Mr Nicholas Biwott, yesterday criticized Catholic bishops for their claim that the gap between the rich and the poor in the country was widening and that injustice in the country was growing. Mr Biwott told the bishops to read and familiarize themselves with sessional paper No one of 1986 which clearly explained the strategy the government was taking to enhance socioeconomic as well as the well-being of all Kenyans. [sentence as heard] The minister made the remarks at Kahuru market in Kiharu Division of Murang'a District where he conducted a harambee [fund-raiser] in aid of all schools in the division. [passage omitted]

Mr Biwott further noted that the harambee spirit had helped to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor since the rich contributed large sums of money to help develop schools and other public institutions which were utilized by all Kenyans. He said that there was no classification of people in Kenya and cautioned church leaders against indulging in styles of dividing wananchi [citizens] with an aim of creating hatred among peace-loving Kenyans. [passage omitted]

### Official on Murder of Tourists in National Park EA0807205489 Nairobi Domestic Service in English 0400 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Kenya is an attractive and well-known tourist destination which has had the privilege of welcoming visitors from all over the world, the permanent secretary [PS] in the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife, Mr Peter Munene, has said. In a press statement, the PS said that in the last 5 years, the country has hosted a cumulative total of about 3 million tourists who spent about 24.7 billion shillings in our hotels around the country. He said that this magnitude of tourist traffic has been possible due to the stable leadership of President Daniel arap Moi.

Mr Munene has, therefore, registered his surprise that the lives of two French visitors should have been terminated by the merciless criminals at the Meru National Park recently. He said this act of hooliganism infringed on the freedom of movement that Kenyans enjoyed and was also shared by our foreign visitors. The PS said that

the entire administration and management of our wildlife services is currently being overhauled with the objective of ensuring survival of our wildlife while maintaining our national parks as peaceful and comfortable havens for our visitors. Mr Munene, therefore, assured all concerned that Kenya is determined to maintain its good name in world tourism and everything possible will be done to achieve this goal.

## Somalia

### Siad Says Ready for Talks With Opposition EA0207220489 Mogadishu Domestic Service in Somali 1700 GMT 2 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre, secretary general of the Somali Revolutionary Socialist Party [SRSP] and president of the Somali Democratic Republic, in addressing Somali people at the conclusion of the fifth session of the Third Congress of the SRSP Central Committee, explained in detail the party and government's view on existing problems, including [word indistinct] fights in some areas. [passage omitted]

The president called on the opposition to return to their country. The Somali Government is ready to hold talks with them anywhere and at any time. Its wish is to save the Somali people from meaningless death, misery, and other problems [word indistinct] development, building, and future of their children. Comrade Mohamed Siad Barre also called upon the opposition to turn to promoting peace, unity, stability, productivity, justice, and equality for everyone. Party and government policy was based on maintaining security. [passage omitted]

Comrade Siad elaborated on the forthcoming elections of the people's assemblies. He said that the election would not exclusively benefit the existing party but would rather be an election of the people, on an equal basis. [passage omitted]

### \* Success of Northern Insurgency Assessed 34190269a Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Jun 89 p 11

[Article by Yves Heller: "Guerillas in the North Seem to Mark Time"; first paragraph is editor's lead]

[Text] Last legs of a guerilla movement that may have overestimated its strength, or the preparation of a spectacular "coup" the secret of which is possessed by Somali National Movement (SNM) rebels? In any event, the contrast between the current situation in northern Somalia as described by concurring sources and the events of May 1988 could not be more glaring.

A year ago SNM resistance fighters, the chief armed opposition movement to President Siad Barre's regime, surprised everyone by launching a violent offensive against government troops. The attack enabled them to take the "capital of the North," Hargeysa, and to subsequently occupy it for a time despite Mogadishu's bloody

reprisals. At the time, the SNM—which was born in 1981 and made itself famous, notably, in France by kidnapping a team of Physicians Without Frontiers in January 1987—had just lost its Ethiopian “sanctuary” to the signing of an accord between Addis-Ababa and Mogadishu.

Today, in a region ravaged by civil war, where all witnesses agree the big cities are no more than ruin and desert, fighting seems to have abated over the last few months. War has given way to guerilla fighting, a succession of sudden attacks on a totally different scale from the “head-on” clashes of last spring and summer, according to sources that corroborate each other. This is so despite the fact that, according to unconfirmed reports, SNM fighters recently succeeded in occupying Erigavo, northwest of Hargeysa. The governor of that city is moreover said to have been captured by the rebels and taken to an Ethiopian refugee camp where the SNM is holding him hostage.

In fact, the last clashes of any scale between the army and resistance fighters seem to have taken place around water holes that government forces tried to seize. According to an SNM leader who requested anonymity, President Siad Barre's forces launched attacks against these wells, notably in February and March, from bases it occupies near or in big cities. They did not, however, manage to take them as the rebels succeeded in stopping their advance.

This information would tend to confirm that the SNM, whose troops are recruited essentially from the Issak ethnic group, are currently on the defensive. Having been forced to abandon the towns from which it initially ousted government troops, the SNM is chiefly occupied in creating trouble on the country's northern roads in an effort to prevent any movement of the army.

#### Supply Difficulties

It would appear, however, that the SNM, which last year seized a large quantity of Somali Army equipment, is now running into problems keeping itself supplied with arms and munitions. Concentrated primarily on the coast, Addis Ababa's former allies reportedly no longer receive any outside aid except from the Issak community settled abroad, chiefly in Arab countries. Its settlement

on the Gulf of Aden allows the rebel movement to receive this assistance, since the Ethiopians seem anxious—so far—to scrupulously respect the accord they signed in April 1988 with Mogadishu.

But sources close to the SNM assure us that President Mengistu's regime is finding it harder and harder to conceal its impatience with the absence of any border settlement with Somalia, despite the accord. As a consequence, the same source expresses the hope of seeing Ethiopia's position evolve somewhat in favor of its exprotee.

According to figures provided by a member of the movement, the SNM's 5,000 to 6,000 “permanent” soldiers are henceforth faced not only with a regular troop whose units are frequently demoralized, but also with militias armed by the central government. The latter has reportedly succeeded in enlisting on its side members of a rival (to the Issaks) ethnic group, the Gadaboursis, further accentuating the tribal aspect of the conflict. According to sources close to the SNM, government forces also include Ogaden refugees enlisted by Mogadishu and said to be given free rein in certain areas by the Somali authorities. Rebel circles affirm that in Hargeysa, for instance, these “refugee militiamen” pillaged what remained of the main northern city, already hard hit by combat and aerial bombardments.

Though the rebels enjoy undeniable support within the Issak population and can, depending on circumstances, count on a sizable “reserve” among the nomads, their ambitions today seem limited. They are estimated, still according to sources close to the SNM, to be currently incapable of “taking the whole north” of Somalia, where the resistance fighters' goal is confined to “preventing the regime from exercising power” until it crumbles. This same source dismisses the likelihood of a secession.

The SNM, settled in the north (former British Somalia) only, is thus following with interest the movements of discontent brewing in the Somali Army, as well as the problems being encountered by Mogadishu authorities in other regions such as the south. There, part of the garrison of the coastal city of Kisimayo reportedly mutinied and would have deserted to seek refuge at the Kenyan border. According to unconfirmed reports, General Siad Barre's government has so far had no luck in negotiating the surrender of the mutinous soldiers.

**De Klerk Expected To Meet Bush 25 or 26 Jul**  
*MB1107180689 Johannesburg Television Service  
in English 1800 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[Text] There are indications that National Party leader Mr F.W. de Klerk will meet American President George Bush on 25 or 26 July. Our political staff has been tipped off by informed sources that a decision on the meeting was taken prior to last week's informal talks between President P.W. Botha and Nelson Mandela. Mr de Klerk is also likely to hold meetings with senior members of the Bush administration. Meanwhile, there is speculation in diplomatic circles that Mr de Klerk will visit a neighboring southern African state before traveling to the United States.

**May Meet Chissano in Maputo 'Next Week'**  
*MB1207062889 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
0600 GMT 12 Jul 89*

[Text] There are strong indications that National Party [NP] Leader F.W. de Klerk is to visit Maputo next week for talks with Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano.

Television news last night said he would visit an African state before meeting U.S. President George Bush. Speculation that the possible meeting would focus on bilateral relations and Mozambique's internal problems could not be confirmed last night.

Informed sources quoted by BUSINESS DAY newspaper say the rumors about a meeting with Chissano are strong. De Klerk has not met an African leader since he became NP leader. He is expected to meet Bush either on 25 or 26 July. Bush is being urged by a group of Democrats in the Congress not to meet De Klerk until the state of emergency is lifted and political prisoners are freed. Fifty-one Democrats signed the letter saying a meeting with De Klerk would send a wrong signal concerning the direction of U.S. policy toward South Africa.

**Possible Chissano Meeting Discussed**  
*MB1207093089 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0923 GMT 12 Jul 89*

[By Dirk van Zyl]

[Text] Pretoria July 12 SAPA—The office of Mr F.W. de Klerk, leader of the National Party and the man expected to become state president after the September 6 general election, would today only comment that "there is such a possibility" when asked about reports of a pending visit to President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique.

The Department of Foreign Affairs said it was "speculation at this stage."

However, firm indications from Nationalist sources today are that Mr de Klerk is to visit President Chissano next week, prior to a visit later this month to President George Bush of the United States.

Dates being mentioned for the visit to Mr Bush are July 25 or 26.

Nationalist sources say the talks with President Chissano are likely to focus on Mozambique's internal situation and relations between that country and South Africa. It would be Mr de Klerk's first visit to the leader of a black African state since he became NP leader earlier this year.

The visit would follow shortly after his trip to Europe three weeks ago, when he saw, among others, Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher and West Germany's Dr Helmut Kohl.

According to reports from Washington, President Bush and his advisors have agreed to receiving Mr de Klerk later this month, provided Mr Bush also sees a leader of South Africa's Democratic Party [DP] before the September 6 general election, to ensure a balance.

Mr Bush has already received Archbishop Desmond Tutu and a delegation of UDF [United Democratic Front] leaders headed by Mrs Albertina Sisulu.

Diplomatic sources point out that as Mr Bush has already seen these representatives of the South African political spectrum, he could hardly refuse to receive Mr de Klerk and a DP leader, to achieve balance.

Government sources point out that a meeting between Mr de Klerk and Mr Chissano would not replace any later meeting between Mr de Klerk and Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda, which has also been mooted.

**Officials Offer No Comment on Mandela Statement**  
*MB1107093889 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
0927 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[Text] Pretoria July 11 SAPA—The South African prisons service would not comment this morning on reports that the ANC [African National Congress] leader, Nelson Mandela, will issue a statement on his meeting with the state president, P.W. Botha.

The prisons service said in a statement quoted by SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news it was policy not to comment on whether any requests had been received from prisoners or on their contents.

The statement is a sequel to a news conference in Johannesburg last night at which the general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, announced Mr Mandela would issue a statement on the meeting.



SABC's political news staff also reported Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was not available for comment.

**DP's Worrall Praises P.W. Botha-Mandela Talks**  
*MB1107072489 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 0500 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[Text] A leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Denis Worrall, says South Africa is entering a new era during which the expectations of South Africans will have to be taken into account.

He was addressing a British all-party committee on southern Africa of the House of Commons. Dr Worrall said that the informal talks between President P. W. Botha and ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela had been significant. He said President Botha had acted in a decent and human fashion.

After his address to the committee, Dr Worrall told our representative in London that during his European visit he had encountered people who realized South Africa was not a throwaway Third World society, but an important country. He said they wanted to see South Africa solving its problems.

**UMSA's Boya Welcomes Botha-Mandela Meeting**  
*MB1007165389 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1455 GMT 10 Jul 89*

[Text] Johannesburg July 10 SAPA—The meeting between the state president, Mr P.W. Botha, and Mr Nelson Mandela was a gigantic step which would hopefully not be used by the National Party [NP] as an election ploy, Mr Tom Boya, the president of United Municipalities of SA [South Africa] [UMSA], said today.

In a statement he said it would be welcomed if the new leader of the NP, Mr F.W. De Klerk, would take the meeting of Mr Botha and Mr Mandela further towards meaningful negotiations.

"UMSA would like to congratulate Mr Botha for his bold movement in meeting Dr Mandela, who is a definite force to reckon with for any peaceful settlement in South Africa.

"No normal negotiations can take place without a full backing of all mass democratic movements in exile or at home," he said.

**Mandela Requests Permission for Law-Degree Party**  
*MB0707120689 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1000 GMT 7 Jul 89*

[Text] Jailed leader of the ANC [African National Congress] Nelson Mandela has applied for permission to hold a party.

Mandela's house at Victor Verster Prison could be the venue for 50 invited guests to join him in celebration his gaining a law degree. Mandela applied for permission to hold the party a month ago.

A prison services spokesman has confirmed the request but has declined to elaborate. During his 27 years in captivity, Mandela has only ever been visited by his wife and small groups of family and friends.

Sources close to the family say those on the guest list would be the entire family and a number of jailed leaders. Some of the names mentioned are Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsualedi, and Ahmed Kathrada, all of whom were given life sentences with Mandela during the Rivonia trial.

**Winnie Mandela Uninformed of Request**  
*MB0707145789 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1324 GMT 7 Jul 89*

[Text] Johannesburg July 7 SAPA—Reports of an application by jailed ANC [African National Congress] leader Mr Nelson Mandela to have a graduation party in his isolated prison bungalow were quashed today by his wife, Mrs Winnie Mandela.

"It is an infringement of the family's ideals and our respect for the man... there is no occasion for a man behind bars to celebrate", Mrs Mandela told SAPA today.

Mr Mandela was recently awarded a degree in law after completing his studies by correspondence.

But Mrs Mandela, who clashed with her husband and members of the mass democratic movement recently of her relations with the "Mandela Football Club", said the family was not in the habit of throwing parties and such a function would be "out of context," considering her husband's incarceration.

Mr Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismael Ayob, said today: "I know about it (the application for the party). But I did not make the application".

REUTER news agency earlier quoted sources close to Mr Mandela's family as saying Mr Mandela had asked the SA [South African] Prisons Service a month ago for permission for the graduation party. Mrs Mandela said today she had last seen her husband three weeks ago. She knew nothing about such an application by him, she said.

The REUTER article said that according to the same sources, Mr Mandela wanted to hold a party in prison for up to 50 people to celebrate gaining his law degree. The aging leader has been in jail for more than a quarter of a century. He was sentenced to life imprisonment in June 1964 after being tried under the General Law Amendment Act and the Suppression of Communism Act for sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the government

by revolution and by assisting an armed invasion of the country by foreign troops. He is presently incarcerated in a prison bungalow in Paarl, near Cape Town.

Mrs Mandela said the only gathering which has been planned was a meeting for prayer on her husband's birthday, July 18. "We shall be with him on his birthday and we are hoping to bring the family members from the Transkei, and his grandchildren", she said. Mrs Mandela said that if this could be arranged, it would be the first time in 20 years that the whole Mandela family would be together. She said she would be delighted if jailed black leaders Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi and Ahmed Kathrada—mentioned in the REUTER report as among those who Mr Mandela wanted to invite to his "party"—were at her husband's birthday.

"They are considered to be part of the family, anyway," she said, "and we have not seen them for 20 years".

Mrs Mandela, who married Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in 1957, said she did not know who the "sources close to the family"—who allegedly submitted the basis for the earlier report—could have been.

"There is no such source close to the family", she said. "Such a party would not be in keeping with the tradition of the family".

A spokesman for the SA Prisons Service said: "The matter of a graduation ceremony for Mr Mandela is being considered".

#### **Plans for 'Ceremony' 'Going Ahead'**

*MB0807181289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1519 GMT 8 Jul 89*

[Text] Cape Town July 8 SAPA—Plans are going ahead for a private graduation ceremony—not a party—for imprisoned ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela at his Victor Verster house.

Amid angry statements from Mrs Winnie Mandela that celebration parties were not in the family tradition, Mandela's lawyer, Mr Ismail Ayob, confirmed today that an application had been made for a private graduation ceremony.

Mr Ayob was reacting to reports that Mandela was hoping to give a party for 50 guests to celebrate his graduation with an LLB degree from UNISA [University of South Africa].

Speaking at D.F. Malan Airport on his way to a "routine" consultation with Mandela today, Mr Ayob said: "My understanding is that what has been applied for is a private graduation ceremony, not a party, to be attended by Mr Mandela's tutors from UNISA and immediate family."

Mr Ayob said he did not know when the private ceremony was to be held. He also did not know who would be invited. "I assume it will be close family members and some tutors from the university."

#### **ANC Views Recent Lusaka Talks With Whites**

*EA0907210389 Addis Ababa Radio Freedom in English  
to South Africa 1930 GMT 8 Jul 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] Compatriots, with the apartheid regime proving itself incapable and unwilling to resolve the problems of our country, it is clear that a growing number of our compatriots, those whom all along the regime had seen as (?its structural) base, are turning to the democratic forces for solutions.

In this process our vanguard movement the ANC [African National Congress] is being increasingly seen by all as central to the resolution of the South African conflict. The visit of a large group of whites to the ANC headquarters for discussions (?amply) demonstrated that a growing number of white compatriots no longer believe what they are told by the regime concerning the ends and objectives of the democratic revolution and thus these white compatriots arranged to travel such long distances if for anything to find out for themselves the truth.

It is truly instructive that whilst last week the apartheid regime, at the helm of which is the Nationalist Party, was unveiling another plan to perpetuate apartheid and speaking in the name of white South Africa, the largest group of whites ever to talk to the ANC was in Lusaka agreeing with the ANC that apartheid must go so that the people of South Africa can live as equals and enjoy equal rights.

Nothing can ever obscure this fact, more so against the background that those who traveled to Lusaka last week were coming from almost all walks of life of the white community. This on its own illustrates that, whilst de Klerk is promising our white compatriots a false future of permanent domination, he is finding it more and more difficult to convince the growing number who no longer see the perpetuation of white minority domination as securing the future of white South Africa. A sizable portion of our white compatriots moving away from the very notion that in future racial and ethical relations in our country can be defined according to racial groups, with the white the dominant population.

A sizable proportion of our white compatriots is finding its way towards accepting that the only future is a future for all in a country which will not discriminate against its own (?people). Those who traveled to Lusaka are only a portion of those who are today disillusioned with the policies of the Nationalist Party and its ideology of racism. In this regard we have witnessed a growing

number of the white youth refusing to join the apartheid uniform, preferring to face [words indistinct] rather than to cross the streets of their suburbs to shoot at their fellow South Africans.

Worthy of mention also is the rise in the number of white women who are ready to publicly proclaim their support for their sons who are refusing to be conscripted into the racist army and calling for a just solution to the problems of our country. This marks the start of the process in which the apartheid regime is losing its battle for the hearts and minds of our white compatriots, just as it has totally lost this battle with regards the black majority. Thus all our white compatriots, who are today disillusioned with the policies of the apartheid regime, will readily agree with us on the need for answers.

Not all of them are ready to start joining the mass struggle against the apartheid system. Not all will readily agree with what has come to be regarded as a truly democratic position. Yet what we [word indistinct] is the disease of people who only yesterday could not see the truth of our country through any other light other than what they were told by the apartheid regime. What is important is that these are people who only yesterday believed the regime when it was talking about the permanent [words indistinct] relations, but today are people who today are ready to search for a just solution and ready to listen to the democratic voice concerning the future of our country. This situation demonstrates that there is tremendous grounds for the democratic forces to win more and more of our white compatriots to the camp of democracy away from the ideology of racism and apartheid.

This situation should show us all that there is tremendous ground for the democratic forces to further weaken the apartheid regime by isolating it even from what it has always called [words indistinct] and by further isolating the diehard traitors who see no other future but the future of apartheid, even if it does mean the biggest conflict in terms of antiracist struggle.

Compatriots, if anything has confirmed the intentions of the regime as to try to win back the sizeable white proportion which is moving away from apartheid, it is the latest awkward reform plan unveiled last week by the Nationalist Party. Once more the regime is portraying itself to our white compatriots as [words indistinct]. It has again raised the false scare of black domination as a result of a thorough-going democratic process and in this are trying to play on the fears and ignorance of our white compatriots to help them back into the land. As we approach the apartheid elections which are to be held in September, it is clear that more and more disinformation and lies will be told to prevent our white compatriots from deciding their future other than in terms of racism and apathy. It is against this background that we have to defy all obstacles placed on our path through the obnoxious press censorship to [word indistinct] our white compatriots our democratic beliefs and dreams.

For its own sake and future, white South Africa must realize that what the regime is offering is nothing but a prescription for further crisis and conflict. White South Africa has to be made to realize that its security can be guaranteed only by a truly democratic constitution, a constitution in which is conferred to all the people of our country equal human and individual rights. There is no alternative except a democratic alternative which will bring peace to our country.

In the past the apartheid regime has promised our white compatriots that it could secure their own future by intensifying the repression on the black majority. All along the state of emergency has been offered as a guarantee that democratic South Africa will never emerge in our country, but after 4 years of the state of emergency, the challenge this regime is facing is greater than ever before. Not only have democratic organizations survived, but they have [word indistinct] themselves, not to speak of the fact that millions more arrested in the struggle for a truly democratic state. These facts must be known to our white compatriots.

They must draw important lessons from the fact that the repression of the past 4 years has obviously failed to secure the regime and its apartheid system. They must know that for the regime to continue promising a change of apartheid and assuring them of the permanence of white domination [words indistinct] is to promise them nothing but a death threat. It should be the task of all democratic and patriotic people of our country, both black and white, to reach to our white compatriots. Let us offer them a democratic solution. Let them know that the past can no longer be relived and the future can no longer be denied.

**Tambo, Buthelezi To Meet 'Within a Month'**  
*MB0907101389 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES*  
*in English 9 Jul 89 p 2*

[By Peta Thornycroft and Shaun Harris]

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] President Oliver Tambo and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to hold "end the bloodshed" peace talks in London within a month.

An ANC source said negotiations towards dialogue between the two leaders—who have been at loggerheads for decades—had been going on for some time.

And locally, an important decision, vital to a joint attempt by the UDF [United Democratic Front], COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] and Inkatha to end the endemic political violence in Natal, will be taken later today at Inkatha's annual conference at Ulundi, KwaZulu.

The SUNDAY TIMES was told that the ANC was "deeply worried" by the spiralling bloodshed in Natal.



The banned organisation is believed to have anticipated that some of its supporters might be "confused" by the meeting between Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi, given the ANC's long-standing anger at the Zulu leader's anti-sanctions and anti-violence stance.

"It has come to a point where, regardless of the political risks, the ANC wants an end to the fighting in Natal. Apart from trying to end the slaughter—which is an immediate task—the ANC's longer-term aim has always been unity among blacks. But the primary objective is to stop the killing now," said the source.

There are some in the ANC who believe that jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela has exercised considerable influence from behind his prison walls in getting Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi around a negotiating table.

They point to Mr Mandela's letter to Chief Buthelezi written from Victor Verster Prison earlier this year as being a starting point in the process towards peace in Natal.

Of all the much-publicised meetings between the ANC-in-exile and people from inside the country, political observers believe the one between Mr Tambo and Chief Buthelezi will be the most significant to date.

Ever since Mr Tambo left South Africa in 1960 after his second banning order—and the subsequent banning of the ANC—to head the organisation's external mission, relations between him and Chief Buthelezi have grown increasingly hostile.

Chief Buthelezi has often indicated he would be willing to meet Mr Tambo, but the ANC has always turned him down.

Meanwhile, at Ulundi today the more than 5,000 conference delegates will be asked to consider a proposal to accept and implement the "joint peace plan"—a result of earlier meetings in Durban between delegates from Inkatha, COSATU and the UDF—or reject it and continue with the series of peace rallies Chief Buthelezi has been conducting in the region.

However, it is unlikely the joint peace plan will be scuttled. Chief Buthelezi made it clear in his presidential address to Inkatha's National Council on Friday [7 July] night that he favoured the initiative. The only matter open to debate today will be whether Inkatha decides to accept the joint plan.

Although the Inkatha leader would not disclose details of the proposal—he wants the presidents of the ANC, COSATU and the UDF to consider it first—he did sketch an outline of what it encompassed.

After next month's meeting of the "big four"—Chief Buthelezi, Mr Tambo, the UDF's Archie Gumede and COSATU's Elijah Barayi—to examine the combined

document, it is proposed that two committees be appointed. One would be a permanent consultative committee to try to overcome "difficulties" between the respective organisations, and the other a joint peace committee.

**Legal Delegation Returns From Lusaka ANC Talks**  
*MB1107153089 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
1500 GMT GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] A delegation of South African legal experts has arrived home after talks with the ANC [African National Congress] in Lusaka. The trip was organized by the Lawyers for Human Rights. Delegates said there is a definite similarity between the South African Law Commission's proposed bill of rights and the ANC's ideas on the subject. The ANC delegation comprised President Oliver Tambo, Publicity Secretary Thabo Mbeki, and Communist Party chief Joe Slovo. The ANC had no difficulty with the proposition that language, cultural, and religious rights of groups should be respected, but the organization was opposed to group political rights and a constitution structured on ethnicity. All ANC delegates were opposed to the death penalty.

**'Open Letter' Rejects Talks With ANC**  
*MB0907092589 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES*  
in English 9 Jul 89 p 6

["An Open Letter to All South Africans"]

[Text] During the past year more than 450 South Africans visited the ANC [African National Congress] in Lusaka at a cost of R1,000,000 (one million rands).

More than 10,000 people were killed or maimed in ANC terror attacks or suffered damage during these dastardly attacks.

Is this the first instalment on the road to so-called freedom?

The organisation "Victims Against Terrorism" was inundated with inquiries and requests during the past two weeks by families of victims of terrorists who just cannot believe that prominent academics, businessmen, journalists and others once again went on "safari" to Lusaka to converse with the terrorist organisation which caused their loss and grief.

**Were the following items perhaps on the agenda?**

- the pain and suffering of the victims of terrorism?
- the grief over the loss of family or friends?
- the damage to property and the loss of income caused by the ANC?
- the possible payment of compensation to those who suffered loss?
- the thousands of black people who lost their jobs and were impoverished as a result of sanctions?
- a peaceful and prosperous future for South Africa?

**On the contrary**

According to media reports the discussion centred around the marketing of the misleading policy and the image of the terrorist organisation.

To the victims of terrorism it is quite clear that the "safari" participants with their visits are playing into the hands of the revolutionaries by creating the impression that the inhabitants of South Africa are ready to surrender, while the ANC is not acknowledged by civilised countries as representatives of all South Africans. The ANC acquired local and international disrepute as a result of their terror attacks, mutilation and murders on defenceless inhabitants and the destruction of their property.

**Whose cause do the "safari" members promote? For what purpose are they being used by the ANC?**

One example is the campaign to lift the State of Emergency, because it prevents the ANC from activating the revolutionary climate in South Africa. It is an established fact that 15,000 incidents of unrest occurred in 1986 alone, which necessitated the imposition of the current State of Emergency.

**Never believe the ANC when they claim to stand for democracy**

The ANC delegation included prominent members of the South African Communist Party, amongst others Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kassrils, Dan Thloome, which proves that the two-phase revolutionary theory is not fiction but is intended to be put into practice in South Africa, as follows:

Phase 1: The so-called "national democratic revolution" in terms of which the ANC purports to be the so-called nationalist movement.

Phase 2: The establishment of a communist state (which plan was concealed from the "safari"-goers). This goal was reemphasised during the seventh congress of the South African Communist Party in London.

**The South Africans who visit Lusaka are not representative of the true feelings and ideals of the majority of South Africans.**

**These visits create the impression, for the ANC and the world, that South Africa is willing to, and presently on the verge of, capitulating to murderers and terrorists.**

**Visitors are being misled by the communists.**

**How do South Africans really feel about the ANC?**

"Should the ANC take over the government, it will lead to total anarchy and hell on earth in South Africa," according to a mother that lost her daughter in an ANC car bomb attack in Durban.

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**ANC Prepares Washington Information Office**  
*MB1007183089 Lusaka Domestic Service in English*  
1800 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] In Lusaka, the ANC has said that it is preparing to open an information office in Washington. ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said plans were in an advanced stage to open the office, and Comrade Lindiwe Mobula had already been appointed chief representative in that country. Comrade Sebina said the decision was motivated by America's influential position and active participation in world affairs.

**Further Reportage on Bophuthatswana Unrest**

**Committee Rejects Claims on Violence**  
*MB0407171989 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
1200 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] A bitter verbal wrangle has broken out between the Bophuthatswana authorities and the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, TRAC, regarding incidents in Leeufontein last week.

Bophuthatswana has blamed the violence, which claimed 11 lives, on what it calls preplanning in the Witwatersrand area.

TRAC has rejected this, saying the tragic events were, in its words, the culmination of intense tension and escalating conflict as a result of forced incorporation into the homeland.

Bophuthatswana has rejected reports that Leeufontein villagers were fired on from a police helicopter. It says two shots were fired from a helicopter, but only to indicate to police below where to search for people trying to cross into South Africa.

**Official on Attack's 'Pre-Planning'**  
*MB0407170689 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1627 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Mmabatho July 4 SAPA—Bophuthatswana's acting president, T.M. Molatlhwa, said today his government "deeply regrets" the "tragic loss of life" of nine policemen and two civilians during unrest at Leeufontein earlier this month.

The "innocent inhabitants" of Leeufontein were the victims of "manipulation" by outsiders, he told Parliament. The "pre-planning" of events was done in the

Witwatersrand area, he claimed. Reports in the media of villagers being shot from helicopters were also not true, he said. A helicopter arrived only after the unrest, he told MP's. He also denied thousands of people had been arrested since the unrest broke out. He said the facts were that the unrest started last Thursday [29 June] night when arsonists gutted a house in Leeuwnfontein, attempted to set fire to another, and stoned a third.

The Bophuthatswana government had evidence the "cold blooded murder" of the nine policemen was a "calculated and deliberately planned act" by people outside the borders of the country, a SAPA correspondent quoted the acting president as saying.

Giving the background to the Leeuwnfontein events, he said that on July 1, Bophuthatswana Police investigated an illegal gathering at Leeuwnfontein. The police were discussing matters with the "purported leaders" of the crowd.

The spokesman talking to the police was then physically removed by a gang, according to Mr Molathwa.

The police officers who were negotiating were then surrounded by an aggressive crowd armed with axes, stones and petrol bombs. Acting with restraint, police attempted to withdraw.

A Buffel vehicle was attacked and petrol-bombs thrown into it.

Five policemen who escaped from the vehicle were pounced upon and hacked to death. The four men trapped in the buffel were incinerated. In defending their lives, police fired shots, killing two civilians and wounding "a few others".

When peace was restored, the commissioner of police, a Major General Seleke, was transported to the scene in the only helicopter used that day.

People had scattered. From the air a group of suspected instigators trying to reach South Africa was seen hiding behind a koppie [hill].

Two shots were fired from the helicopter into the air to indicate to Bophuthatswana security forces below where to search. This was a common procedure, MPs were told.

The involvement of the Bophuthatswana Defence Force was restricted to assist police in sweeping the area after the incident. Extensive investigations had been instituted into the events and several people arrested.

**Authorities Release 120 Detainees**  
*MB0407175589 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1752 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Johannesburg July 4 SAPA—One hundred and twenty detained in the Leeuwnfontein area at the weekend were released tonight by Bophuthatswana authorities, the Transvaal Rural Action Committee (TRAC) said.

A total of 136 people were detained during Saturday [1 July] and Sunday, according to a TRAC spokesman who was quoting lawyers who had spoken to the independent homeland's attorney general.

Those not released tonight would apparently be charged, she added.

TRAC also quoted various sources as saying South Africa's Foreign Affairs Ministry had applied pressure on Bophuthatswana to charge or release those arrested.

**Residents Hold 'Clandestine Meetings'**  
*MB0607085189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
0734 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Johannesburg, July 5, SAPA—A series of clandestine meetings were held in and around the strife torn settlement of Leeuwnfontein Wednesday [5 July] evening as word rapidly wound its way of the scheduled court appearance of eight anti-incorporation activists.

The activists face charges of malicious damage to property as well as murder when they face a Bophuthatswana magistrate at the Lehurutshe court Thursday.

Mr Dadelik Majisu, the spokesman for the embattled community of 15,000, was not present at the meeting of 11 people—but it was clear by the tone of the conversation that he would be informed, or already knew, about the case.

A SAPA correspondent was witness to one meeting which took place in thicket below a koppie [hill] bordering Leeuwnfontein.

After meeting a contact, the journalist was taken to a hill over-looking a cluster of huts.

Several minutes elapsed before rustling bush was heard, and three men emerged.

They were joined by several others and an animated conversation during which it became clear that the case will attract wide-spread support from the local community.

Several hundred Leeuwnfontein residents are expected to turn up and the locals are confident the accused will have legal council.



"We have been hiding in the hills for fear of our lives. This is why we are meeting under such conditions," one of the men said to an interpreter.

"We have been heavily harrassed. Because of the situation, we can only meet in such ways (under the bush). We are lucky because police action seems to have died down because of the attention we are getting."

Activity in the settlement—despite the earlier "reign of terror" as one man described it—seems to be more free.

The Bophuthatswana authorities have removed all the road-blocks and access to both Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein is virtually normal.

A prominent anti-incorporation chief Pupsey Sebogodi, has also been released and will not be charged, indicating the Leeuwfontein saga may have mentally exasperated the Bophuthatswana authorities, however telephones to Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein remain suspended.

#### **Two Villages Remain 'Sealed Off'**

*MB0607095989 Johannesburg SAPA English  
0953 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Lehurutshe July 6 SAPA—Braklaagte community leader Chief Papsie Sebogodi was today transferred from a Mafikeng prison to stand trial in Lehurutshe—effectively dispelling earlier reports that he had been released.

Lawyer Mr Greg Nott said he was shocked to see the community leader this morning.

"All our information indicated he had been released. But we could not substantiate this as we have been denied access to Leeuwfontein and Braklaagte.

"I was shocked to see him in the cells at Lehurutshe this morning."

Mr Nott said they were also surprised by the number of activists due to appear in court today.

"Initially there were eight people but this figure has risen, and we are still collating names and attempting to get bail".

There was no tension at Lehurutshe magistrate's court. A small crowd of supporters stood outside watched by soldiers in a South Africa-registered armoured vehicle.

The two villages of Braklaagte and Leeuwfontein were still sealed off and telephone lines were down this morning with heavily armed soldiers and police guarding all exits.

Three armoured vehicles blocked the entrance to the villages.

Vehicles travelling past the villages were stopped and searched while several policemen were stationed about 100 metres from the home of Mr Sebogodi.

Villagers claimed that one person was killed yesterday when he allegedly forced his way through the road blocks leading to Leeuwfontein but attempts to confirm this failed this morning as the commissioner of police, Maj Gen Seleke was out of town.

#### **Police 'Viciously' Assault Chief**

*MB0607100889 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1004 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[By Neil Lewis]

[Text] Lehurutshe, July 6, SAPA—In an exclusive interview with SAPA today, Braklaagte community leader Chief Papsie Sebogodi claimed he was viciously assaulted while in the cells at Mafikeng.

"I was arrested early Saturday [1 July] morning. I had committed no crime, I was not at that fateful meeting on Saturday and I represent Braklaagte not Leeuwfontein. I was taken by several police early in the morning to the Mafikeng Prison where I was interrogated by five policemen."

Chief Sebogodi alleged a bag was placed over his head and he was beaten with hands and fists. He claimed he was not supplied with blankets and was given a minimum amount of food.

"I will not be laying charges against police as I am afraid. I wish to say to my community that they should behave and conduct their protests in an adult fashion."

Chief Sebogodi was speaking from behind bars at the Lehurutshe Magistrate's Court shortly before his lawyer, Mr Gregg Nott, was due to apply for bail.

Chief Sebogodi said he did not know what charges would be brought against him.

The charge sheet merely states he will appear in court in terms of security legislation.

#### **Police Arrest Over 1,000**

*MB0607135489 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Villagers and church workers are still claiming Bophuthatswana police arrested well over 1,000 people after Saturday's [1 July] clash at Leeuwfontein. Authorities in Mmabatho say 136 people were arrested, and all but 8 have been freed.

But other sources say 1,000 people were picked up in Leeuwfontein, 100 on nearby Kleinfontein Farm, and 250 on the road to Zeerust, which lies 20 km away. The sources say many people were injured while being

arrested and are in hospitals and clinics in the homeland. It's also reported that South African Police cooperated with their Bophuthatswana counterparts by stopping the escape to South Africa of many fleeing villagers.

**\* Slabbert Discusses Quest for Unitary State**  
34000580c Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES  
in English 4 Jun 89 p 19

[Text] The central question in South Africa is not whether we are going to become a one-nation state but what kind of one-nation state it will be.

It is very likely that in this area F W de Klerk will seriously begin to explore the idea, and search for allies for the new one-nation state in South Africa, and also hope that many concerned whites searching for new symbols of national unity will be pulled into the "new debate."

It would be a strategic error if mass-based organisations remained aloof from this debate or assumed that it will die and wither away because "the masses" or "the people" or "some historical inevitability" will not tolerate its existence.

Two current developments will underscore this point.

The first is the stagnation and even decline of the South African economy. Contrary to conventional wisdom on this issue, I believe it will strengthen the state's search for allies of its view of a one-nation state.

It will of necessity offload the costs of economic decline on those who cannot or will not be incorporated.

The state will try to marginalise those organisations and leaders who challenge its concept of the one-nation state.

It is in this context that the extraordinary stupidity of a non-reflective and crude sanctions-isolation campaign will become exposed, particularly when its major consequence will be to weaken those who struggle for a nonracial democracy and strengthen those who oppose it.

In a period of increasing unemployment, economic stagnation and stable poverty, the powers of patronage of the state become stronger, not weaker.

The second current development is the international commitment to a "political solution" in South Africa, as exemplified by the USSR, USA and Britain and its European Community partners.

The revolutionary paradigm has been abandoned for the time being and been substituted by "the long haul to negotiations." Of necessity this means a re-evaluation of existing structures and above all, a renewed interest in "the whites."

Can they, will they, are they going to change? Any "reasonable" response will almost automatically be inflated beyond its potential. Already "let's give FW a chance" has become the catch-phrase for the 1989 election, not only inside, but outside South Africa.

The shift from partition to integration has fundamental implications for whites as well as for the future of those structures created under apartheid.

This shift opens up a fertile new strategic "area" for those committed to a nonracial democracy in South Africa. But it will involve a new exploration of structures and opportunities that may challenge hallowed strategies and tactics of the past.

The search for new symbols of unity and nationhood among most whites is real. The transient nature of the structures created by the apartheid/separate-development state is no longer questioned.

However, even if the battle for a one-nation state in South Africa has been won, the struggle for a nonracial democracy has to be renewed and invigorated.

The '70s saw the collapse of the partition state. The '80s saw the shift to the integrated state. The '90s will see the battle for the nonracial democratic state.

**Hendrickse 'Encouraged' by Herman Cohen Meeting**  
MB1107132089 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1300 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Labor Party leader Allan Hendrickse has met American Secretary of State for African Affairs [title as heard] Herman Cohen in Durban. Hendrickse says he is encouraged by the discussions he had with Cohen:

[Begin Hendrickse recording] I've got no doubt in my own mind that he is looking for a solution; that he has heard total black opinion—I include myself in that total. I get the impression that he would look, certainly, for the factors that would lead to peaceful change rather than anything else. [end recording]

**SABC Announces Election Coverage Plans**  
MB0707123589 Johannesburg Domestic Service  
in English 1100 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] The SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] intends to inform whites, coloreds, and Asians as comprehensively as possible on the progress of the election campaign as events unfold and in terms of themes developing in the public debate.

The SABC says in a statement issued in Johannesburg that in its news coverage it will concentrate on informing its viewers and listeners of the policy standpoint of the participating political parties, as articulated publicly by their spokesmen on the various issues in national politics.

In fulfilling its role as news medium, the SABC will strive for the highest degree of fair reporting within the framework of its broadcast policy. The SABC says the standpoints will be reflected on the grounds of their newsworthiness and appropriateness to the themes of programs. Reasonable time for stating standpoints will be the norm rather than trying to maintain exact air times. The overriding objective will be to inform the voter fully.

The SABC says it will conduct its election coverage in four stages.

In the run-up to nomination day, election news will be reflected in the usual news broadcasts on radio and television.

In the second stage, from nomination day to election day, the SABC will present daily election reviews of about 15 minutes on radio and television from Monday to Friday.

In these reviews, election news will be handled thematically and circumstances will determine which review would be used and on which day. On television, the reviews will be presented in the programs "Network"/"Netwerk" and on radio in the programs "Radio Today," "Monitor," and "Radio Lotus." The previous evening's television review will be repeated the following morning, at the end of "Good Morning South Africa."

The elections reviews will have five formats: news of political meetings, telepolations on television and audiopolations on radio, panel discussions, debates, and general montage programs.

In the reviews of political meetings, the standpoints of the political parties will be reflected as presented on the public platform insofar as news coverage can be arranged. The telepolation and audipolation programs will be modeled on the interpolation format introduced in Parliament this year and, in fact, will be single question debates between representatives of two parties under the chairmanship of the SABC.

In the panel debates, journalists, political experts, or academics will question a politician on a specific subject. Debates will be held under the chairmanship of the SABC on subjects identified by the SABC or suggested by political parties.

In keeping with the established pattern, debates will be presented on subjects and with participants agreed upon by the parties involved.

The general of montage programs will contain mainly election information, but reporting will be done on other subjects as the need arises.

The third and fourth editorial stages will be the comprehensive news coverage on 6 September and the broadcast of the results on that night. More details of this will be announced later. The SABC says the coverage of the election and the results will present new challenges as it will be the first time that the standpoints of all the various political parties and then the results in all three houses of Parliament will be broadcast simultaneously on both radio and television.

**Black Unity Needed To Defeat Conservative Party**  
*MB3006143689 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY*  
*in English 30 Jun 89 p 3*

[By Edyth Bulbring]

[Text] Two things that need attention if CP [Conservative Party] policies are to be defeated are the forging of unity between black townships and the formation of a broadly based black consumer movement.

This is the view of SA [South African] Institute of Race Relations researchers, Harry Mashabela and Monty Narsoo, in a publication, *THE BOKSBURG BOYCOTT*, released yesterday.

The publication said the stalemate in Boksburg showed that using consumer muscle was not an automatic guarantee of political success. If CP policies were to be defeated, there would have to be stronger organisation and more sustained strategic thinking.

"Some protest leaders see consumer action as a means of directly pressurising the council by reducing its revenue. But only a protracted withdrawal of buying power is likely to damage the council's finances. Even this would have only a limited impact, as much of its revenue is collected from industry, which is relatively unaffected by the protest," write the researchers.

While some saw people the boycott as a short-term means of showing black anger and disconcerting white voters, it would need to be sustained, as the council was elected for five years and was not threatened by a short-term loss of voter support.

One point in the black protesters' favour was that the CP did not control the security apparatus and could not use it to suppress black resistance to its policies.

"This, together with the NP's [National Party] reluctance to hinder the Boksburg protest, creates opportunities for organisation which are unusual in the current political climate."



The researchers noted that black protest in Boksburg had been led by an alliance of groups previously hostile to each other.

Initially the protest was led and co-ordinated by the local management committees in the neighbouring black townships of Reiger Park (coloured) and Vosloosrus (African)—an unusual development since black township councils had rarely sought to lead community protest action.

A longer-term alliance between black business and organised black consumers might be in the interests of the protesters and black business. However, the attempt by white business to forge an alliance with the black communities had failed, largely because business had not managed to influence the council.

"If events in Boksburg indeed strengthen black organisations and weaken white commitment to segregation, this will have implications for local authorities controlled by the NP as well," the report concludes.

**Commentary Notes 'Reason for Optimism' in Namibia**  
*MB1207052789 Johannesburg Domestic Service*  
*in English 0500 GMT 12 Jul 89*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The statement by Mr Herman Cohen that the independence process in South-West Africa/Namibia has moved beyond the irreversible threshold is confirmed by other recent developments. It means that the first of several crucial goals has been met in implementing the comprehensive peace plan for southwestern Africa. A second must be reached in 3 weeks' time, when the remaining 47,000 Cuban troops in Angola must have withdrawn north of the 15th parallel. According to reports, the Cubans have been ahead of schedule in carrying out their part of the agreement.

That South-West Africa/Namibia has, as it were, passed the point of no return in its progress to becoming Africa's last independent state, is a tribute to the commitment of the governments that signed the regional agreement last December. It was clear from the start that there would be difficulties in carrying out the obligations it imposed. Success would depend on the joint determination of the three—South Africa, Angola, and Cuba—to adhere to all aspects of the plan.

In the event, the problems came even sooner and more seriously than expected. [sentence as heard] At its first meeting the joint commission representing the three governments had to take drastic action to prevent an armed incursion by SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] from destroying the whole settlement. Further complications arose from reports of intimidation from all sides, and delays in deploying

UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group], repatriating exiles, and launching the election campaign. At one point it was feared that the election might even have to be postponed beyond November. That concern has been allayed by the marked improvement more recently in the overall situation. At the joint commission meeting over the weekend, all parties confirmed that they were on course in meeting their commitments under the regional settlement.

A more detailed review has now been given by Mr Herman Cohen, America's assistant secretary of state for Africa, after a tour of the region. Good progress was being made with the registration of voters and repatriation of exiles, he said, and confirmed that steps had been taken to deal with complaints about an excessive police presence in some areas. He also refuted outside accusations against South Africa's handling of the electoral process and expressed confidence that there would be a free and fair election. Meanwhile, the Angolans had also embarked on the difficult task of national reconciliation, and the confinement of virtually all SWAPO cadres north of the 16th parallel had been completed.

No doubt many hurdles will still have to be passed before the region finally emerges from the conflicts that have overshadowed its recent history. But given the evident determination to succeed, there is good reason for optimism about the outcome.

**Teachers' Association Urges All-Race School**  
*MB1107113189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*1051 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[Text] Johannesburg, July 11, SAPA—Rather than close Johannesburg Girls High School, the school's doors should be open to all races as a pilot scheme for the future, the Transvaal Teachers Association [TTA] said in a statement today.

The TTA urged Minister of National Education F.W. de Klerk to remove the school from the jurisdiction of the Department of Education and Culture and make the facilities available to all children of the local community.

Removing the school from the DET's [Department of Education] auspices would "open the way for a state-run open school which could serve as a pilot scheme for the future as indicated by acknowledged demographic trends," the statement said.

White schools in racially "gray areas" were being artificially kept viable by children travelling to them from distant suburbs while black children living in the area were having to travel to distant township schools.

It was educationally unsound to expect children to commute long distances daily to and from school, the association said.

**Transkei Upgrade Seeks International Recognition**

*MB1606154689 Umtata Capital Radio in English  
1500 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Transkei is to start upgrading its foreign affairs department in an effort to gain international recognition.

The territory's foreign affairs minister says its foreign affairs policy since independence seems to have been clouded and confused, and he added that following the UN decision not to recognize Transkei, the then government should have reassessed its foreign policy.

He told the national assembly that some of the crudest forms of nepotism had been practiced in his department and to counter this strong measures (?need to) be taken. He said (?a crop) of new information officers who are able to represent Transkei abroad are needed to help the homeland achieve international recognition.

**Transkei Extends State of Emergency**

*MB2906172889 Johannesburg SAPA in English dd  
1652 GMT 29 Jun 89*

[Text] Umtata, June 29, SAPA—The three year-old state of emergency in Transkei has been renewed in terms stated and issued in a special government gazette signed by the state president, Paramount Chief Tutor Ndamase, today.

The proclamation, in terms of the Transkei's Public Security Act of 1977, comes into operation on July 1, when this year's emergency lapses.

In terms of this regulation, the affected persons are school-going children and university students. They are required to be indoors between 6pm and 6am and can only leave with the permission of the principal or of the police if they are day scholars.

The proclamation does not affect the movement of children on Sundays when they go to church.

**Parks Official on Mozambique Tourism Potential**

*MB2806090489 Johannesburg Television Service  
in Afrikaans 0530 GMT 28 Jun 89*

[Text] Dr Solomon Joubert, Kruger National Park's chief warden, says if the Mozambican Government wishes to develop the land adjacent to the park, the National Parks Board would be prepared to investigate means of making the area accessible to tourists. Dr Joubert was speaking at a tourism conference at Malelane in the eastern Transvaal lowveld [low lands].

He said the area has great potential for the development of tourism. This included the two dams which have been built on the Sabie and Olifant Rivers in Mozambique. The conference was also attended by a senior Mozambican official.

**Mining Officials Agree on Salary Increases**

*MB1606174889 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1717 GMT 16 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg June 16 SAPA—The Chamber of Mines has reached agreement on salary increases with the three mine officials' associations that represent about 27,000 employees on chamber affiliate mines.

In terms of the agreement officials will receive an average increases of 13.5 per cent on their actual earnings. The appointment rate will also be raised by 13.5 per cent.

The three officials' associations are the Mine Surface Officials Association, the Underground Officials Association and the South African Technical Officials Association.

Settlement with the associations means that only one series of wage negotiations—that which the chamber is conducting with the National Union of Mineworkers [NUM]—remains unresolved.

Talks between the chamber and the NUM are in dispute and the chamber has applied to the minister of manpower for the appointment of a conciliation board.

Earlier this month agreement on a 13.5 per cent increase was reached with the Council of Mining Unions, an umbrella body representing the mine workers union and six mine-based artisan unions.

**Mine Workers Reject Chamber's Offer**

*MB2806150189 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1405 GMT 28 Jun 89*

[Text] Johannesburg, June 28, SAPA—The final wage offer made by the Chamber of Mines has been "overwhelmingly" rejected by mineworkers, according to NUM.

The National Union of Mineworkers said in a statement to SAPA today it had decided to go for "expedited mediation" in an attempt to resolve the wage dispute between the two parties.

Mineworkers mandated the negotiating team to seek mediation or an informal meeting with the chamber in an attempt to resolve the impasse.

The union decided at conciliation board deliberations with the chamber on Thursday [2 June] to put the employer body's offer to members for a decision. This was rejected "overwhelmingly."

Mining houses affiliated to the chamber had made a split offer with Gold Fields, Lonrho and Rand Mines' gold division rejecting the NUM's demand to negotiate wage increases in cash, rather than percentage terms.

The NUM said Gold Fields had offered individual increases of 14 per cent for underground and surface miners, while Rand Mines' gold division offered a 13.5 per cent increase for staff only.

A Chamber of Mines spokesman, Mr Peter Bunkell, said the employer body had no comment on NUM's decision to go for mediation.

**Miners Union, Chamber Reach Agreement**  
*MB0407143389 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1424 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Johannesburg July 4 SAPA—The National Union of Mineworkers announced today they had accepted a wage offer by the Chamber of Mines, thus ending intense wage negotiations in the mining industry.

**Agreement Detailed**  
*MB0407150989 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1505 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Johannesburg July 4 SAPA—The National Union of Mineworkers announced today they had accepted a wage offer by the Chamber of Mines.

But Chamber spokesman Peter Bunkell told SAPA the matter had not yet been finalised.

The union said it had accepted the chamber's offer which had been pushed up by R6 across-the-board.

Approached for comment Mr Bunkell said: "From our point of view the matter is not yet over. We will be meeting the union tomorrow for further discussions."

Wage negotiations in the mining industry began in May with the union pressing for increases in quantum terms.

It had initially demanded a uniform national minimum wage of R543 for surface and R600 for underground workers, but settled for R420 and R480 respectively.

**Chamber Says Pact 'Full and Final'**  
*MB0407174289 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1705 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Johannesburg July 4 SAPA—The Chamber of Mines announced this evening that "full and final" agreement had been reached in negotiations with the National Union of Mineworkers on the 1989 review of wages and other conditions of employment for union members employed on chamber mines.

Johan Liebenberg, the chamber's senior general manager, external relations, said there was doubt about agreement earlier today when the NUM accepted the chamber's final offer on wages, but did not agree to a condition stipulated by the chamber that it support the extension of certain exemptions from the provisions of the basic conditions of employment act.

"The NUM wished to link support for these exemptions to further negotiations on a series of issues relating to the contract of employment," Mr Liebenberg said in a statement to SAPA. He did not elaborate on the exemptions.

This linkage was rejected "totally" by the chamber and, in an early evening development, was withdrawn by the NUM.

The chamber, however, agreed to start separate negotiations "in the very near future" with the NUM on the contract of employment issue.

**Mining Company To Retrench 'At Least 8,600'**  
*MB2906063089 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
0500 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] One of South Africa's giant mining companies has made public what it plans to do about mines that are struggling because of the low gold price. Rand Mines is to retrench at least 8,600 mine workers from the financially troubled Durban Roodepoort Deep, and from the Harmony Mine in Virginia. But it has come up with a rescue package for its other struggling mine, ERPM [East Rand Proprietary Mines] in Boksburg. Under the plan, the government will help pay some of the mine's debts. At Durban Deep more than half the workforce is to be laid off and the only underground operation that will continue will be in high grade, low-cost areas. Rand Mines says if government aid for Durban Deep does not materialize soon, further cuts to its operations could be on the cards.

**Industry Cannot Absorb 8,600 Workers**  
*MB2906121789 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1008 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Johannesburg June 29 SAPA—The South African mining industry cannot absorb the 8600 to 10,000 whose jobs are at risk in the ailing Rand Mines Gold mines.

A spokesman for a major mining house told SAPA that not even a large percentage of the workers could be absorbed, let alone all of them. He said the only means of accommodating them was to allow them to replace those who left the mines. This natural wastage amounted to less than one per cent of the payroll a month.

In addition, many of the mines are already involved in retrenchment programmes with others expected to follow suit if the gold price continues at its current low level. The mines involved in the Rand Mines Group are ERPM, Durban Deep and Harmony. ERPM has already retrenched a large number of workers and closed all underground workings except for the Far East Vertical area. At Durban Roodepoort Deep the underground operations will be severely curtailed and the staff will be decreased from 8000 to about 3600, a cutback of 4400. The other mine to retrench is Harmony, which will reduce its payroll of 33,000 by 4200.



Rand Mines Chairman Mr Clive Knobs has said that every effort will be made to place those whose jobs are affected in other Rand Mines operations. He said the group had several new projects on the go in gold, coal, platinum and vanadium.

He also said that attempts could be made to place those affected in mines belonging to other mining groups. But he added that they were also hit by the twin problems of a low gold price and steadily rising costs.

Industry analysts have said that there are 18 gold mines with total of 100,000 workers that are classified as marginal and reports have said that large scale retrenchments could well take place on some of these mines as well.

#### \* Effects of Closing Marginal Gold Mines Examined

##### \* Unemployment Looms for 300,000

34000569 Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English  
22 May 89 p 1

[Text] The threat of unemployment looms over 300,000 workers on 18 gold mines as the sliding gold price begins to knock out our marginal mines.

This figure represents 60 percent of gold miners employed in the country and 40 percent of the total mine labor force.

The two mines at immediate risk are Rand Mines' Durban Roodepoort Deep (DRD) and East Rand Proprietary Mine (ERPAM), two of SA [South Africa]'s oldest mines, which together provide 20,000 jobs.

The Government expects today to receive an expert report on possible assistance to save ERPAM and DRD.

The Deputy Minister of Finance, Dr Org Marais, said today the expert group had worked all weekend to complete the report.

The fate of the country's 18 marginal mines was highlighted last week when the gold price fell to its lowest level in nearly three years.

In Hong Kong today bullion opened at \$364. Last year's average price for gold was just over \$430. If the slump continues, the country could not only see the closure of numerous marginal mines, but also a loss in foreign exchange earnings to the tune of over \$1 billion (about R2,7 billion), which could force another round of austerity measures.

Durban Deep and ERPAM called for assistance last week, as Rand Mines suspended their listings on the Johannesburg and the London stock exchanges. If this assistance is not forthcoming, the mines will close.

#### Local Economy

The mines have been hard hit by the drop in the gold price and by a strong rise in working costs, caused partly by inflation and partly by more difficult mining conditions as both mines grow older and have to go deeper.

The two mines spend about R50 million every month, much of which goes to sustaining the economy of their local areas.

The higher working costs of the mines are also likely to lead to increased confrontation between the mining houses and the powerful National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), which last month pushed for a doubling of the minimum wage in some job categories on the mines.

NUM press officer Mr Jerry Majatradi said Rand Mines had not directly informed workers of the situation. He said management's decision would be challenged at both mines.

Mr Majatradi acknowledged that the mines had been established since 1894, and had probably reached their last days, but said management should transfer its interests to other industries within SA and secure jobs there.

He said the NUM was opposed to retrenchment in principle, but said Rand Mines' aggressive approach to retrenchment at its mines over the past few years had eroded some of the union's power to oppose it.

"Since 1986, ERPAM, a major employer in the Boksburg area, cut its labor force from 18,000 to 11,000. Figures from Durban Deep, near Roodepoort, show they have reduced their labor force by 25 percent since 1987."

#### 'Starvation Wages'

Mr Majatradi said that given workers were earning a minimum wage of R260 a month, it was unlikely that a doubling of their wages to R540 would cripple the industry.

"The announcement by the Chamber of Mines of the possible closure of the 18 mines is obviously an attempt on their part to pressure workers to accept starvation wages in the face of annual wage negotiations."

But Chamber of Mines general manager Mr Johann Liebenberg said that, if granted, the NUM's recent wage demand for a 118 percent increase in wages would mean that 75 percent of mines operating in the industry would be wiped out.

He said drastic steps would have to be taken to decrease the working costs of mines, many of which were now costing far more than the value of their ore.

Dr Marais disclosed that he would be investigating the position of all marginal mines. He had asked the Chamber of Mines to prepare a report on their long and short-term prospects.

The solution for the ERPM and Durban Deep crisis would have to take into consideration the position of all marginal mines.

"We can't help them in such a way that we give all to them and leave nothing for others."

**\* 'No Effect' on Parent Company**

34000569 Johannesburg FINANCIAL MAIL  
in English 26 May 89 pp 30, 32

[Text] The closure of marginal gold mines ERPM [East Rand Proprietary Mine] and Durban Roodepoort Deep [DRD] would have profound social and economic consequences for Boksburg and Roodepoort. The livelihoods of these towns are centered on the mines—from the shopkeepers already battered by a consumer boycott to the homeland dependents of the migrant workers who stand to lose their jobs. Yet such action would have virtually no effect on the fortunes of parent mining house Rand Mines. On the contrary.

The harsh reality is that the investment community would take a more favorable view of the group should it close these mines down. The general market feeling is that Rand Mines is over-exposed to these high-risk marginal mines: ERPM last paid a dividend in 1981, while Durban Deep paid a small dividend in 1985-1986.

Closure would remove a potential cash drain—because then Rand Mines would have decided against pouring good money after bad to keep them going. That is a harsh assessment, but the prolonged profitability crunch on the marginal gold mines is re-establishing an economic fact of life—that operations which cannot make the grade should be closed down.

Gencor, the mining house which runs the greatest number of marginal mines, has taken this line and Rand Mines appears to be following suit. The house is negotiating with government for financial help to save the two mines—but the clear message is if these approaches are unsuccessful, the mines will be closed. A decision from Pretoria is expected this week.

Mines normally have economic lives of between 25 and 30 years and both ERPM and Durban Deep have been going for more than 80. A general criticism of Rand Mines is that the house allowed its exploration efforts to slip, which meant it did not find and develop new, replacement gold mines.

A specific criticism is that the house was too optimistic on the chances of keeping ERPM going, as it badly overestimated the gold prices to be received. Action taken to close down the older sections of the mine came too late.

This is rejected by Rand Mines chairman Dammy Watt, who says ERPM is in a unique position. It has the potential to be rejuvenated into a mine with a completely new economic lifespan unlike other marginal mines running out of ore reserves. For this reason, Rand Mines' perseverance on the project was justified. He says Rand Mines was aware of the need to cut back on costs in response to the changing gold price situation, pointing to the series of retrenchments which have taken place at ERPM over the past 18 months.

Rand Mines' plan was to keep ERPM's existing operations going while it undertook a project to open up high-grade ore reserves from the Far East Vertical Shaft (FEVS), located in the Boksburg suburb of Sunward Park.

A rights issue to raise R50m was held in 1986 and that, plus R20m in State assistance and a borrowing facility of R200m at an interest rate subsidized by government, were considered enough to get the FEVS into operation.

Plans were to raise ore production from 2.8 Mt/year to 4 MT/year by 1990, of which 50 percent would be sourced from the FEVS. Recovery grade was forecast to improve to 4.5 g/t from 3.6 g/t by 1989, so that gold production would rise from 10.3 t in 1986 to 17.6 t in 1989.

It didn't work out because the gold price never matched Rand Mines' expectations. It also took nine months longer than expected to get production going from the FEVS, while the existing workings were plagued by problems related to their great depth. ERPM is the second deepest gold mine in the world after Western Deep Levels.

Average yield for 1988 was virtually unchanged from 1986 levels, while tonnage milled dropped to 2.2 Mt. Gold production was just 9 t against the forecast of 14.8 and production for 1989 has been revised to 8.5 t.

As a result, ERPM was forced late last year into a programme of radical change—shutting down virtually the entire old workings by keeping only those shafts making a profit in operation. This, according to analysts, should have been done a lot sooner. A second rights issue was held in 1988 and an attempted financial restructuring earlier this year to convert the mine's loans to redeemable preference shares was hit by tax ruling changes.

Rand Mines has a poor image with a number of JSE analysts, who feel its management has often failed to be farsighted enough. "There has been a tendency to sit back and allow things to happen instead of climbing in

and making developments take place. Sitting back and expecting the rand to fall to provide a gold price of more than R34,000/kg, instead of doing what Gencor did and acting to cut losses, is one example," says a JSE analyst.

Another widely held viewpoint is that the recent spurt of activity on the vanadium and platinum fronts was the result of pressure from major shareholder Barlow Rand on Rand Mines' management to get cracking. Watt rejects this, saying the group has been transformed since the Barlows takeover in 1972 through a steady stream of developments. He attributes many of the house's problems to the consequences of decisions taken more than 50 years ago and to its structure before the Barlows takeover.

Watt says Rand Mines slipped up badly in the Thirties when it failed to acquire mineral rights holdings when the other mining houses were tying up gold fields like the West Wits line and the Orange Free State and also taking up rights to areas like the Potchefstroom gap where the current exploration boom is taking place.

Yet, since then, opportunities have presented themselves, such as Selection Trust's discovery of what became Gencor's Oryx gold mine and JCI's acquisition of the rights which formed the H J Joel mine. Deputy chairman Allen Sealey says the group had to allocate priorities to its exploration efforts and, up to about five years ago, the top priority was to build up coal reserves. Emphasis has now swung to gold and platinum.

Watt feels Rand Mines' development until the Barlows takeover had been stifled to an extent by the nature of the shareholdings in the group, with Anglo American holding 32 percent. Leadership was uncertain and the group's attempts to diversify into platinum and vanadium were hampered.

He points out that Rand Mines was the pioneer in areas such as ferrochrome and the development of the low ash coal export market. The ferrochrome business was taken over by Barlows which developed it into Middelburg Steel and Alloys, but Rand Mines' efforts in coal from the early Seventies have paid off handsomely. Coal contributed 54 percent of the group's attributable profit of R164.5m for the year to September. In addition, the group has developed the three plants recovering gold from sand and slimes dams on its old mine properties, which contributed 10.7 percent of attributable profits last year.

Bottom-line must be that the group is in a position to cope easily with the loss of ERPM and Durban Deep, while attributable profits continue to grow steadily, rising 39 percent for the six months to March. Watt says the worst-case situation is that the book value of the investments would be written off against reserves, which are more than adequate for the purpose.

The house will also lose income from management fees, but Sealey says fee income will be generated by the new projects now under way—like Barplats, Barbrook and Vansa. A key feature of the interim results for the six months to March was the doubling of exploration expenditure to R10.6m (previous comparable six months, R5.2m) while exploration expenditure for the financial year to September totalled R14.8m.

Sealey says the higher levels of exploration expenditure will be maintained and that Rand Mines has a number of ventures looking for various minerals under way in different areas; but he will not disclose details.

A major project remains the drilling work south of the Central Witwatersrand where Watt reported encouraging borehole results earlier this year. He says more results will be released before the end of the financial year. However, the reefs are deep and any possible development is still well into the future.

Of concern to analysts is the fate of the house's flagship gold mine, Harmony. Though a huge operation, milling nearly 10 Mt of ore annually, it is marginal because of its low grade—3.05 g/t for the March quarter. They feel, however, that while losing Harmony would be more traumatic than losing ERPM and Durban Deep, the group could still cope with it.

The mine is financially borderline with its gold production cost estimated at R31,600/kg compared with current gold prices of about R32,000/kg. Watt acknowledges the seriousness of the mine's situation but says there is scope for cutting costs at the mine while maintaining output at present levels.

That bears out comment by one gold analyst who feels working costs on most gold mines could be cut by up to 20 percent by removing the fat that has been allowed to accumulate on the operations since 1970, when they were last seriously squeezed financially.

The mines have been cushioned since then by either a strong dollar gold price, State assistance or the devaluation of the rand, allowing them to maintain their revenues. Formal State assistance ended four years ago while the rand has not fully compensated for the lower dollar gold price for the past 18 months.

Watt will not comment on what Rand Mines is trying to negotiate for its marginals. A decision by government to help out rests on such factors as the social consequences of closing the mines, political factors, the effect on the economy and loss of foreign exchange.

While assistance could be provided on an ad hoc basis analysts feel the government is so strapped for cash it is unlikely to listen overmuch to mining industry arguments which are based on long-term rewards for short-term sacrifices in State revenue.



One leverage point Rand Mines may have is that the government has guaranteed R220m of ERPM's loans and is liable to cough up to the banks if the mine closes down. ERPM's total borrowings had reached R318m at the end of March and the interest payments are killing the company despite the government's partial subsidy of the interest.

**Report Warns of Unemployment 'Time-Bomb'**  
*MB0907095189 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES*  
*in English 9 Jul 89 p 6*

[“Special Report” by Andrew Gillingham]

[Text] South Africa is sitting on an unemployment time-bomb.

Experts said this week that not only were there millions of people without jobs—but that the situation would get much worse.

And, they warned, South Africa could return to the crime and political unrest which characterised the 1984/85 recession.

While official figures put unemployment at about a million, all agree that they fail to reflect the true picture. Dr Jan Beukes, executive director of Institute for Labour Economics, said:

“There is a high degree of disguised unemployment, particularly among blacks. We estimate that present unemployment is running as high as 2-million.”

But other estimates put the number of jobless at 6.1-million (including the homelands).

Dr Beukes said: “Adding to the problem is the rapid urbanising of the black population. They are coming into the cities and can't find jobs.”

Dr Gad Ariovich, a consultant to the Federated Chamber of Industries, said unemployment was a result of the downturn in the economic cycle.

“The policy at the moment is to cool down the economy and the price is unemployment.

“One could expect that in a month or two the figures will show an increase in unemployment. The downward cycle might continue for at least 18 months. It will get much worse before it gets better,” he said.

The mining industry is already feeling the effects of the poor gold price. Rand Mines announced last week that 8,600 workers were to lose their jobs.

But National Union of Mineworkers general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the situation was worse.

“There are 50,000 mineworkers who have either lost their jobs or who are under immediate threat of doing so.

“It is particularly difficult for mineworkers to find work in other industries. The skills they learn do not transfer easily. Miners who lost their jobs during the 1987 strike are still trying to find work.

“There are new mines which will open, but they will only offer job opportunities in 5 to 10 years' time,” he added.

A spokesman for the Black Sash said: “We are getting a constant stream of unemployed people and they don't even have the bus fares to come in and look for work.”

DP [Democratic Party] manpower spokesman and Durban North MP Mr Peter Gastrow warned that South Africa was sitting on a powder keg.

“As the jobless lose hope they think of today instead of tomorrow. This leads to an increase in social and political unrest.

“The only real solution is a higher growth rate, but that is no simple answer,” he said.

Dr Ockie Stuart, director of the Bureau of Economic Research, said he estimated the growth rate would hit zero next year.

“We must encourage the flow of capital from overseas into industries which will employ high numbers of semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

“For example, government support for the tourist industry would create lots of jobs and earn foreign exchange.”

United Building Society's chief economist Dr Hans Falkena said he expected interest rates and taxes to rise after the September 6 general election.

“We are still spending too much. While the economy is slowing down, it is not happening fast enough.”

Little help is available for the jobless. South Africa has no welfare net such as is available in the UK. Unemployment benefits are there, but the cash soon runs out and all too many of the jobless don't know how to draw from this resource.

Mrs Faith MacDonald, a researcher at the Labour and Economic Research Centre, said counselling for the affected workers was essential.

She pointed out that employers have a responsibility to help their workers.

“They need practical advice such as how to draw unemployment benefits, where work is available, the best way of approaching prospective employers and what to do with retrenchment payouts.

"Psychological counselling is also needed. People who have been laid-off often take this as a reflection on themselves and suffer from a low self-esteem," she added.

Department of Manpower spokesman Mr Francois de Villiers said the department had formed a committee made up of representatives of various government departments and members of the private sector.

"The committee is monitoring the effect of various training and job creation schemes," he said.

**11 Jul Press Review on Current Problems, Issues**  
*MB1107145589*

[Editorial Report]

**THE CITIZEN**

**Mandela-Botha Meeting Dramatic Step**—"The meeting between the state president and Nelson Mandela has sown confusion in radical ranks," writes Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 11 July in a page 6 editorial. That is why the Reverend Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches played down the meeting saying 'it does not constitute any dramatic event in the history of South Africa'. "The ANC [African National Congress] also seems to have been caught off guard, a spokesman in Lusaka said, suggesting that Mr Botha met Mandela in a public relations show to pretend he was moving towards talks to end apartheid." "We can understand the confusion, since the meeting took everyone by surprise, including the South African press." "However, both Mr Chikane and the ANC are wrong in regarding the meeting as a nonevent." "We believe that after the election Mandela will be freed, perhaps together with other jailed ANC leaders, including Walter Sisulu and Oscar Mpetha, though probably not at the same time." However, there is a "long way to go before all parties are prepared to sit down at the negotiating table. But the meeting was certainly a dramatic step that encourages hopes that one day this may be possible."

**THE STAR**

**'Nothing' Same After Botha-Mandela Meeting**—Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 11 July in its page 14 editorial says "amid the fuss over President Botha's motives for meeting Nelson Mandela, the risk is that the true import of the meeting will be obscured." "It is not that Mr Mandela may now be released, or that the president may have found a way to save face over the issue of renouncing violence, important as those byproducts are." "Indeed, it doesn't even matter a jot if President Botha's motive was simply to spite his successor-to-be, which seems at least possible given the ungraciousness of his slow-burn departure from high office." "Nothing can be the same now." "At a sweep President Botha has given extraordinary credence to Mr Mandela's stature and he has signalled that he is ready to sit down

with people he once labeled 'terrorists'." "It is an eminently sensible approach because now, perhaps, the country can entertain that the political logjam can be broken one of these days." "We would like to believe that President Botha had all the consequences in mind when he arranged the meeting." "It would truly be irony if, out of pique, he has served South Africa better than he realizes."

**SOWETAN**

**NP Playing Games**—In a page 4 editorial Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 11 July declares "the government seems to be squeezing every ounce of political advantage out of the meeting between Nelson Mandela and State President Botha." "The excitement about the meeting, however, seems to have drowned out some important questions." "What does the state president of the strongest military power in Africa discuss with a helpless prisoner he has kept behind bars for 27 years?" "For the new door to open, the government will first have to release Mandela and then open dialogue after he has consulted with his comrades." "The National Party's [NP] 5-year plan requires that people who participate in drawing up a new constitution for the country commit themselves to peace." "It is sad indeed that the NP is still playing games with the future of our fatherland."

**CAPE TIMES**

**Vlok Statement on Apartheid Praised**—"Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok this week delivered himself of one of the most damning indictments of apartheid to come from a senior Nationalist spokesman. He admitted that South Africa should long ago have got rid of apartheid, because it had become an albatross round the country's neck" and "would 'crucify us all'", states the Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 6 July in a page 6 editorial. "The minister is to be congratulated for speaking out so boldly and candidly." "If this was a foretaste of the government's election strategy against the Conservative Party, there is hope that reform will not be watered down—as has occurred so often in the past—for fear of the right wing." Belatedly realizing that apartheid is a failure and the fact that apartheid continues to flourish "are the wings and body of the albatross hanging around South Africa's neck. Mr Vlok's government has the power to let the bloody bird drop. Why doesn't it?"

**Lusaka Talks 'Successful Exercise'**—"The Lusaka conference between 115 white South Africans from many walks of life and a delegation of the African National Congress was a successful exercise in communication, it appears, and has advanced the cause of a negotiated settlement in South Africa," opines the CAPE TIMES in a second editorial on the same page. "The discussions were at a high level, according to Mrs Helen Suzman, a clear-sighted observer, and were held in a good spirit." "It is plain to Mrs Suzman that the ANC is moving towards a negotiated settlement." "Is the De Klerk

government similarly convinced that the time has come to negotiate? On current form it does not seem so, although lip service is paid to the idea of negotiation. There are a number of essential steps to be taken before even preliminary discussions can be on the cards." "Are such steps really on Mr De Klerk's agenda? It does not seem so."

**NP 'Buying Votes'**—"The Nationalist government is transparently buying votes, or trying to," asserts the CAPE TIMES on 7 July in a page 6 editorial. "Facing an election in which it has seldom been more vulnerable on economic issues, it has resorted to a spree (by no means ended) of financial hand-outs and concessions, all designed to soften hard-pressed voters. These election sweeteners—financed in many cases, as predicted by opposition politicians when it was created, from the R1 billion Contingency Fund—are now rolling in daily, almost faster than the gravy train can transport them." No one begrudges an increase in pensioners' income. "While the government is about it, why does it not go the whole hog and make life economically more livable for all? "If the only way to financial relief is through elections, let us have them every year."

#### DIE BURGER

**Bitter Rows Left, Right**—Cape Town DIE BURGER in Afrikaans on 5 July in a page 10 editorial says "bitter daily rows in the ranks of the leftist as well as right-wing opposition to the National Party have become an important aspect of the election campaign, and they are now quickly gaining momentum." "The spectacle in leftist and rightist politics provides much to think about for voters who have not yet made up their minds on how to vote."

**DP Agrees to ANC 'Demand'**—In another editorial on the same page, DIE BURGER says "certain points of view and joint statements by the ANC and the Five Freedoms Forum after their congress in Lusaka sound like the latest accords in the DP's [Democratic Party's] latest row. According to the statement it was agreed that whites could participate in the coming election..." "However, the elections in the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives must be boycotted." "This attitude gives considerable weight to DP MP Mr Pat Poovalingham's accusation that two members of the 'troika,' Mr Wynand Malan and Dr Denis Worrall, capitulated to the UDF [United Democratic Front] and the ANC's demand that the DP not participate in the colored houses' elections."

**SWAPO, ANC Oppression**—DIE BURGER on 6 July in a page 16 editorial wonders "what value organizations such as SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] and the African National Congress attach to the word liberation. This question must be asked again as more of their gruesome deeds come to light. Both movements have been given international recognition—even at the United Nations—for their participation in the

'liberation struggle,' but their detention camps are proof of their contempt for freedom in every sense of the word. In the case of SWAPO, questions are now being asked about what the UN [United Nations] is doing or plans to do to end the suffering of the victims of this organization." "It is not only SWAPO's violence that is in question here. From what has recently become known, it appears that ethnic intolerance also plays a great role in the organization. Members of minority groups—including the Namas and Hereros—have become the targets of SWAPO persecution. It is apparently of less importance that such groups are also entitled to their freedom. The United Nations, which makes so much about human rights and which must ensure a free and fair election in South-West Africa, must speak out loudly on this issue."

**DP Hiding Behind 'Smokescreen'**—In a second editorial on the same page, DIE BURGER says the "impression given by the Democratic Party that the latest crisis in its inner circles is over is just a spookscreen. There are simply no available facts to support their claim that the problems over the uncertainty of the party boycotting the elections in the other two houses have been solved." "While the DP has almost since its formation stumbled from one argument to another, it tries to convince voters that its kind of negotiation alone can bring harmony. One does not have to be a prophet to predict that the whole mess is going to fall apart around the leadership troika."

#### BEELD

**Botha-Mandela Meeting Brings Hope**—Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 10 July remarks in a page 8 editorial that "South Africa is 'going through a period in which political planets are moving closer together,' said Dr Oscar Dhlomo, chairman of the so-called KwaNatal Indaba, last week. Few people could have guessed how dramatic that movement really is, because the historic meeting between President P. W. Botha and Mr Nelson Mandela, which had already taken place, was still a secret. Greater expectations that Mr Mandela will soon be released are inevitable. According to the statement issued by Minister Kobie Coetsee, Mr Mandela expressed himself as favoring 'peaceful development in South Africa'. That is a condition which President Botha made in April for Mandela's release, and to which he is apparently converted. It makes all the less sense to detain a man in a well-equipped house, to allow him to receive friends and relatives, and yet not to release him. Then, too, Mr Mandela's official status as being detained due to a criminal transgression has been changed by the meeting. State presidents do not hold discussions with ordinary criminals. Official recognition at such a high level that he is not just another offender, also raises the question of his continued detention. But regardless of how desirable Mr Mandela's release may be, it must be judged against the background of the present political processes in the country. There is a new fluidity in both white and black politics which has not been present for decades." "The positive results which can flow from the



negotiations to which Mr Mandela is a party make one's head spin. A constitutional dispensation with wide acceptance, a return to full membership in the international community, the restoration of overseas athletic ties, and economic recovery... that is the dream conjured up to millions by the meeting of Mr Botha and Mr Mandela. But realism would not be inappropriate. Both leaders belong to an older generation. The young generation may differ with them, and the stumbling blocks are great. Still, they have brought about new hope."

#### TRANSVALER

**RSA Politics 'Great Crucible'**—"One could say South African [RSA] politics nowadays is a great crucible and the only certainty about it is the uncertainty over the fates of the different political groups," comments Johannesburg TRANSVALER in Afrikaans on 5 July in a page 6 editorial. "Only a few weeks ago there was much tension and uncertainty in and around the NP." "Indications are now that the NP will present a united front for election day on 6 September, while the DP's supposed unity hangs on a thread due to internal arguments and differences of opinion."

**New Spirit, New Awareness**—TRANSVALER on 6 July, writing in a page 8 editorial, finds that "while certain people in certain parties occupy themselves with petty politics, certain important sources abroad have noted a new South African spirit." "Of course the new spirit is nothing new to South Africans. It started in P. W. Botha's era..." "But, and this is important, as a new leader Mr F.W. de Klerk succeeded in creating a new awareness."

#### DIE SUIDWESTER

**Put Action Into Words**—Windhoek DIE SUIDWESTER in Afrikaans on 7 July notes in its page 6 editorial that "with the arrival of the SWAPO leadership Namibians have been assured that the former are coming in peace and want to democratically participate in development. A new dawn could be breaking if they keep their word, but there is doubt about their intention. The fact that PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] members have massed on the northern border or been smuggled in as refugees shows that the peace offering is just lip service." "If SWAPO wants to be accepted it should show its true character with deeds and not words." "We appeal to SWAPO: Allow your fighters to be disarmed by UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] outside the territory and then let them come in peacefully."



## Angola

### UNITA Says Ready To Continue Peace Talks

*MB1207061889 (Clandestine) Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel in Portuguese to Southern and Central Africa 0520 GMT 12 Jul 89*

[Communique issued by the UNITA Central Committee Political Bureau in Jamba on 11 July]

[Text] 1. The UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] Central Committee Political Bureau met 7-10 July under the chairmanship of President Jonas Malheiro Savimbi to listen to a report on a UNITA delegation's recent visit to the Republic of the Ivory Coast, (?as well as) to discuss the Gbadolite accords.

A. The UNITA Central Committee Political Bureau strongly supports the Gbadolite accords, the sole foundation for peace in Angola, national reconciliation, and a verifiable cease-fire that will allow the Angolan people to freely and democratically express themselves.

B. UNITA believes Gbadolite was not a hasty move. UNITA believes the time had come for a responsible framework of African heads of state to be created in Angola that will give hope to our people who have been martyred for the last 14 years. [sentence as heard]

2. No one ever violated the cease-fire, although we regret minor incidents after midnight on 24 June. Any serious cease-fire that corresponds to the amplitude and intensity of the 14-year-old Angolan war, which killed more than 200,000 people, maimed more than 100,000, and displaced 1 million, must necessarily be defined, negotiated, and verified. We only lack a legal mechanism that will define and verify the cease-fire. UNITA is for an effective cease-fire.

3. In its ordinary session today, the UNITA Central Committee Political Bureau paid heartfelt homage to Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko on his Gbadolite feat. The UNITA Central Committee Political Bureau also paid homage to Ivorian President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the wise man of Africa, for his advice and unconditional support for the Gbadolite accords.

UNITA also paid special homage to all African heads of state who met in Gbadolite, notably Malian President Moussa Traore, who is also OAU chairman, and Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, who is also chairman of the Nonaligned Movement.

4. To all European countries, such as Portugal, that wish to play an important role in this national reconciliation process in Angola, UNITA says they are welcome as long as all non-African efforts seek to serve Africa's interests.

5. The UNITA commission to the talks with the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] left on 11 July for Zaire, where it will wait for the MPLA delegation to join it, so that Zaire can continue to play the important mediating role assigned to it by the Gbadolite summit in Zaire on 22 June.

6. Media statements that only seek provocation will be purely and simply ignored. The Angolan people need peace now, and UNITA wants to contribute toward peace.

For a free fatherland or death! United we shall win!

[Issued in] Jamba, bastion of Angolan resistance, on 11 July 1989

[Signed] President Dr Jonas Malheiro Savimbi; Vice President Jeremias Calangula Chitunda; Secretary General Miguel N'Zau Puna; Chief of Staff General Demostenes Amos Chilingutula; and Operations Chief Geraldo Sachipengo Nunda, on behalf of the UNITA Central Committee Political Bureau

## Botswana

### Foreign Reserves Increase by \$102 Million

*MB1107131089 Gaborone Domestic Service in English 1110 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[Text] Botswana has increased its foreign reserves by \$102 million, approximately 207 million pula, making 1989 a record year, and this year diamond exports are expected to surpass the 1987 performance.

This information is contained in the latest publication of the Bank of Botswana bulletin. The bulletin reveals that total figures for the three main export commodities of diamonds, beef, and copper-nickel during the 1st quarter of this year were nearly 80 percent higher than in the previous corresponding period. The period covered is from January to March 1989.

The increase in foreign reserves has been attributed to the strong export performance. Diamond exports for this year have been estimated at \$1,378 million, about 2.8 billion pula, which represents an increase over the figures for last year. During the reporting periods, says the reserve bank, diamond exports were 72 percent higher, while copper-nickel showed an even substantial increase of 110 percent. [sentence as heard]

The bank says the recovery in the beef industry that was seen 1988 continued to improve in the 1st quarter of 1989. [sentence as heard] The bulletin says the continuing strong performance of the export sector has increased the surplus of the government's budgetary operation in the fiscal year 1988-89 above the original expectations.

The bank says an adverse development in the economy starting about the middle of 1988 has been the rapid increase in the rate of inflation. This trend rose from 6.7 percent in May 1987 to 10.7 in December last year. The rate accelerated rapidly to 12 percent in January this year but appears to have stabilized thereafter, remaining unchanged in February and declining marginally to 11.7 percent in March.

### Mozambique

**Frelimo Central Committee Session Opens in Maputo**  
*MB1107081889 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese*  
0800 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] The Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party Central Committee's 11th session opened in Maputo this morning. This is the Central Committee's last meeting before the fifth congress. It will analyze documents to be presented at the fifth congress, notably the Frelimo Party Central Committee's report; economic and social guidelines; and alterations to the (?statutory) program, among others.

In opening the session, President Joaquim Chissano said our task is to prepare the work that we will have to hand over to the next Central Committee.

The Frelimo party Central Committee's 11th ordinary session is being attended by 114 party members and some guests, including the party's first secretaries from Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Zambezia, Gaza, and Maputo Provinces as well as the general secretaries of OMM [Organization of Mozambique Women] and the Mozambique Children's Organization.

### Chissano Speech Noted

*MB1107111489 Maputo Domestic Service in Portuguese*  
1030 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] The Frelimo party Central Committee's 11th session opened at 0820 with a speech by President Joaquim Chissano in which he defined the session's general aim: to assess the Central Committee's work since its election in 1983. This analysis includes the last 2 years of preparations for the fifth congress.

In his speech, President Joaquim Chissano said this was an assessment of the Frelimo party's work and its consequences and results among the people. President Joaquim Chissano said, quote, we can perhaps hear congratulatory words and salutations when these proceedings are over. Right now, we only feel that the Central Committee members have done a lot of work and demonstrated great commitment, but we would like to be able to say this happened in terms of the quality and quantity of achievements—to use the right words, if they can describe the work we have done together, unquote.

President Joaquim Chissano then referred to the importance of analytical work for the future Central Committee, which will be elected by the fifth congress.

[Begin Chissano recording] Our task is also to prepare the work we will have to hand over to the next Central Committee. Therefore, our work here today carries great responsibility. In handing this work over to the next Central Committee, we are effectively handing it over to the coming generations.

The success of the work to be carried out by future generations will depend on our analysis of our own work. (?Their work) will begin where our work began. If we approach this issue too confidently, we will hinder the creativity of the coming generations. If, on the other hand, we adopt a pessimistic and defeatist attitude, then we will hand over fear and introspection to future generations.

However, if we assess and define our work correctly, and if we point out errors, deficiencies, and difficulties with precision, the future generations will know how to correct them and better prepare themselves to face those hardships. [end recording]

### MNR Kills 13 Soldiers, Cuts Off Beira

*MB0807063989 Umtata Capital Radio in English*  
0500 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Mozambican peace negotiations may be scuttled before they have a chance to start.

Right-wing MNR [Mozambique National Resistance] guerrillas claim they have killed 13 government soldiers and cut off the key port of Beira.

Maputo hasn't responded to the rebels' claims.

### Beira Official Denies Renamo Claim

*MB1007072389 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
2148 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Harare, July 9, SAPA—The executive director of the Beira Corridor Authority, Mr Rui Fonseca, today denied claims by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] that the Beira corridor had been closed, ZIANA national news agency reports.

"That is a lie. We are running traffic every day. We are doing an average of four trains a day," he told ZIANA in Mozambique's central port city of Beira.

The Beira corridor is Zimbabwe's trade route to the sea and it has troops in Mozambique guarding it against Renamo who, according to press reports, claimed the corridor had been closed.

Fonseca said development programmes at the Beira port were being implemented ahead of schedule.

"The dredging works of the entry channel to Beira port is ahead of schedule and will be completed in October, when it will accommodate vessels of up to 60,000 tonnes deadweight," he said.

The Beira port project is being developed at a cost of 180 million U.S. dollars and the railway facilities development at a cost of 140-million U.S. dollars, he said.

Although traffic from Zimbabwe through the port was increasing, he said the authority was not "completely satisfied with the growth rate."

Fonseca said with only 50 per cent of the railway line capacity and 70 per cent of the port facilities being utilised there was room for improvement to take full advantage of the Beira port and corridor.

Earlier today he briefed Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe and his Mozambican counterpart President Joaquim Chissano and several ministers and officials from both governments about developments at the port.

**Exports to South Africa Exempt From Surcharges**  
MB0707115789 *Maputo in English to Southern Africa*  
1100 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] As from today, a number of Mozambican goods exported to South Africa and Botswana, for use in those two countries, are exempted from any import surcharges at the point of entry on the South African border.

In addition, customs duties charged on the Mozambican products has been reduced to 3 percent. These measures have been agreed on by South Africa and Mozambique, in terms of their trade relations, which have been increased since the signing of the 1984 Nkomati nonaggression pact. This preferential trade agreement will last for 1 year and is not reciprocal.

The Mozambican products covered include dried or frozen fresh fish and prawns, cashew nuts, citrus fruits, wooden furniture, copra oil, and cigarettes. The next [word indistinct] of the agreement may cover textiles.

### Madagascar

**'Official' Parliamentary Election Results Noted**  
EA2906152789 *Antananarivo Domestic Service*  
in Malagasy 1600 GMT 28 Jun 89

[Excerpt] According to the official results of the legislative elections just issued by the High Constitutional Court, the Arema [Vanguard of the Malagasy Revolution] party won 119 parliamentary seats, the AKFM/KDRSM [Congress Party for Malagasy Independence/Democratic Committee To Support the Malagasy Socialist Revolution] 3 seats, the AKFM-Fanavaozana [Renewal] 3 seats, the MFM/MFT [Militants for the Establishment of a Proletarian Regime/Militants for the Realization of the Revolution] 7 seats, the VONJY/

VITM [People's Movement for National Unity] 3 seats, and the Monima Ka Movimbio [National Movement for the Independence of Madagascar] 1 seat.

That makes a total of 136 members of parliament whose elections were approved by the High Constitutional Court. Fresh polls are to be held for the Mandritsara subprefecture. [passage omitted]

### Mauritius

**Opposition Leader Gaetan Duval Granted Bail**  
AB2806124589 *Paris AFP in French* 1749 GMT  
27 Jun 89

[Text] Port-Louis, 27 June (AFP)—Sir Gaetan Duval, leader of the opposition Mauritian Social Democratic Party [PMSD], who was arrested on 23 June in line with the investigation of a murder committed in 1970, was granted bail today following his appearance before the court of Flacq, a village in eastern Mauritius. The investigation was opened after three people who took part in the murder of a Mauritian Militant Movement member and who have already served their jail sentences, gave statements against Gaetan Duval to the police.

Several hundred people welcomed Sir Gaetan Duval when he exited the court today. A procession was immediately organized to Curepipe, a town in central Mauritius, where about 2,000 of his followers were waiting for him. Violent incidents took place in Curepipe on 26 June. Three thousand people, according to the press, or 400 people according to the police, gathered near the town court where Sir Gaetan Duval's initial hearing was to take place. Clashes erupted when the police tried to disperse the crowd following the announcement that Sir Gaetan Duval was to be tried before the Flacq court. Two people, including a policeman, were injured.

**\* Tourism Figures Noted; RSA Major Participant**  
34190244b *Port Louis L'EXPRESS in French*  
19 May 89 p 7

[Excerpt] Sixty-four thousand tourists visited Mauritius during the first trimester of this year.

This figure (64,100 to be exact) represents a 12-percent increase over the same period in 1988.

Revenues came to 750 million rupees, or a real increase over 1988 revenues (626 million rupees).

This is according to official figures of the Central Statistics Bureau.

There are no surprises concerning the triumvirate of countries that generate the most tourists for Mauritius: France, Reunion, and South Africa [RSA] still hold the lead in this sector.



France, which retains its position as the principal European-country supplier of tourists, saw a 12-percent increase in the number of its nationals visiting our island in the first trimester of 1989, or 14,340 tourists.

This increase, however, is lower than the one recorded last year, which was 21 percent. It should be noted, however, that France accounts for 50 percent of European tourist arrivals.

The four other principal European markets are, respectively:

- West Germany: 4,280 tourists;
- Italy: 4,180 tourists;
- Great Britain: 3,320 tourists;
- Switzerland: 2,580 tourists.

#### South African Tourists: On the Rise

The number of tourists coming from South Africa, our "major medium-travel market," is growing constantly. Compared to the same period last year, South African tourists increased by 11 percent, climbing from 7,950 to 8,850 "which is about half of that [the increase] observed between 1988 and 1987" note the statisticians.

Reunion island reaffirms its image as Mauritius's "major short-travel market" with 25 percent of tourist arrivals. Indeed, the number of tourists coming from the island of Reunion rose from 14,380 to 16,200, an 11 percent increase.

However, this increase is well below that noted for the same period in 1988 and 1987 when the number of arrivals grew by 24 percent.

As for Mauritius's other Indian-Ocean market, Madagascar, it sent over 2,100 tourists during this period. [passage omitted]

#### Namibia

**UN's Perez de Cuellar Schedules 18-21 Jul Visit**  
*MB1207124589 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1226 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Windhoek July 12 SAPA—A spokesman for the United Nations, Mr Fred Eckhard, confirmed in Windhoek today that the UN secretary-general, Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, would arrive in Namibia on July 18 for a visit ending on Friday, July 21.

He told a media briefing that by yesterday 18,358 of the 41,000 Namibians registered with the UN for repatriation had arrived back. Returnees, originally reluctant to leave transit centres near Windhoek fearing the security situation in the north, were now moving out at a "healthy rate" and if this continued there was no reason why suspended flights to Windhoek could not be resumed next week, he said.

By yesterday, 12,178 returnees had passed through the reception centres and gone home.

Asked about complaints regarding the registration of voters, Mr Eckhard said he was not aware of any specific problems and UN officials had reported the whole process was going smoothly with few incidents, a high registration figure and a low number of rejections.

**UN Refugee Chief Arrives in Windhoek 9 Jul**  
*MB1007081489 Windhoek Domestic Service*  
in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Jean-Pierre Hocke, United Nations high commissioner for refugees [UNHCR], arrived in Windhoek today for a 2-day visit to South-West Africa/Namibia.

Upon his arrival, Mr Hocke immediately traveled to the north of the territory. He will hold talks with Administrator General Louis Pienaar; the United Nations special representative, Mr Martti Ahtisaari; and diplomatic observers. Mr Hocke will also visit the reception centers in [name indistinct] and Okahandja, and he is expected to hold a news conference in Windhoek prior to his departure on Tuesday [11 July].

**Assesses Repatriation Program**  
*MB1107121189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1139 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Windhoek, July 11, SAPA—The United Nations [UN] had repatriated 18,000 Namibian exiles to date, the UN high commissioner for refugees, Mr Jean-Pierre Hocke of Switzerland, said in Windhoek today. The return of about 41,000 Namibian refugees who registered to come home began on June 12.

Mr Hocke is on a brief visit to Namibia to assess progress in the UN's repatriation programme.

He told a media briefing nearly all refugees from neighbouring countries should be home by the end of this month or early next month. After that, the UN would arrange the return home of small groups of Namibian exiles elsewhere in the world.

Mr Hocke said overcrowding of refugees had been solved in transit camps at Dobra near Windhoek and Okahandja to the north of the capital.

Returnees may stay a maximum of seven days in the reception centres, but many refused to go home to northern Namibia—citing the security situation in the region as the reason for staying longer.

A delegation of refugees visited northern Namibia last week and gave a favourable report-back to fellow inmates, which speeded up the rate of returnees going home.



**UN Spokesman Says 14,615 Returnees Since 12 Jun**  
*MB0507113689 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1132 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Windhoek, July 5, SAPA—By yesterday 14,615 Namibians had returned home under the United Nations sponsored repatriation programme to take part in the country's independence election planned for November, a UN spokesman, Mr Fred Eckhard, said in Windhoek today.

More than 41,000 namibians have registered with the United Nations High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] to come back during the six-week programme that started on June 12.

The deputy head of the UNHCR mission in Namibia, Mr Sylvester Awuye, told the media briefing problems still persisted with returnees not leaving reception centres in the central region for the north at a fast enough rate.

Last night the centre at Dobra near Windhoek, equipped to handle a maximum of 2,000 returnees, had 2,380, while the Okahandja centre for 960 accommodated 2,138 returnees.

Namibians entering the country through entry points in the north were passing through the reception centres, designed to house returnees for a maximum of seven days, rapidly.

"The primary reason has always been the situation in the north, while some people are not sure where their relations now live," Mr Awuye explained.

The UNHCR were looking at a number of options to solve the problem.

"One step is to take groups of returnees based at Dobra and Okahandja to the north to see the situation for themselves and report back," he said, adding the first groups were due to leave today.

Mr Eckhard said all the 154 former detainees who arrived in Namibia yesterday had been reunited with their families and friends.

In reply to a question on the reported presence of former members of PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] (SWAPO's [South-West African People's organization] military wing) among returnees, Mr Eckhard said their returning as civilians was not inconsistent with the settlement plan.

"Any Namibian wanting to return peacefully may do so at this time. No matter where they had been or what they had done," he told briefing.

**Former SWAPO Detainees Describe Ordeals**  
*MB0407182189 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
1800 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Windhoek July 4 SAPA—Stories of torture, imprisonment and making false confessions to avoid being killed were told by some of the former political prisoners held by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization], who arrived back in Namibia today under the auspices of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees.

The former detainees, reportedly numbering 201, were accommodated at a camp near Lubango in southern Angola after their release by SWAPO about a month ago. A group of 153 arrived at Windhoek International Airport more than 40 km from the city this morning.

Relatives and friends had to trek to Oseri Kasi Camp (formerly a South African Defence Force military base) about 20 km east of Okahandja to be reunited with their families. [passage omitted]

Those who said they had been in prison denied SWAPO allegations that they had been sent by South Africa to spy on SWAPO, while some signed false confessions to save their lives.

One man, who declined to give his name, related how on February 10 this year, prisoners at the Hainyeko Camp near Lubango were promised their release if they agreed to be reintegrated into the SWAPO membership. He said he had been kept in a dungeon with between 70 and 100 other people.

A Rehoboth teacher, Miss Sarah Khabes, 34, left Namibia to join SWAPO in 1980, eventually ending up teaching at the Island of the Youth, 180 km from the Cuban capital of Havana. She said she was arrested and imprisoned in Cuba before being sent back to Angola where she spent the last five years in prison at the Maya Base.

"No evidence was ever presented about what we were supposed to have done," she told SAPA. "I have never been trained or sent by South Africa," said Mr Jepheth Isaack, 34, claiming he was beaten until he signed a false confession for his captors. Asked by a reporter if any of his friends had disappeared while in prison, he replied: "There are so many I can't count them."

A former SWAPO office-bearer, Mr Isaack showed reporters wheals on his back, which he said were sustained while being tortured. He had been accused of being a spy for South Africa. [passage omitted]

"We were given two choices, make a false statement or be killed."

Mr Isaack said the former SWAPO detainees were never formally handed over to either the Angolan authorities or the UN [United Nations].

Once freed, a group of detainees was offered the option by SWAPO's general secretary, Mr Andimbo Toivo ya Toivo, of being returned to the South African Government "since we were agents according to him, or being reintegrated into SWAPO.

"Since the people who made the offer were heavily armed, we decided to be reintegrated," he told reporters.

"We knew the extent to which SWAPO would go, because we already had experienced that."

Mr Toivo went back and said he would bring UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] the following day, Mr Isaack related.

"When they came we told Toivo in their presence we were not prepared to go along with his scheme, and we demanded the protection of UNTAG and the Angolan Government."

After that SWAPO's chief of security, Solomon Hawala, arrived at the camp heavily armed and at the first opportunity the inmates ran away into the bush. According to Mr Isaack SWAPO destroyed everything in the camp they had provided.

"We were forced to spend about five days in the bush without food."

"We were about 30km out of Lubango and decided to send some of our fellows downtown to Lubango to contact the Red Cross and the UNHCR." The UNHCR, he said, provided a helping hand for the first few days and then the Angolan Government stepped in. [passage omitted]

**SWAPO's Gurirab Apologizes to Freed Detainees**  
*MB0907082589 Johannesburg SABA in English*  
*0817 GMT 9 Jul 89*

[Text] Windhoek July 9 SABA—SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leader, Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab, yesterday apologised to former SWAPO detainees released from camps in Angola where they claimed they had been tortured, and promised those responsible would have to answer to the charges.

"One practice that was never allowed in SWAPO, a practice the leaders never condoned, is for any member of SWAPO to be humiliated or tortured."

Mr Gurirab told a crowd of about 500 at an election rally at Rehoboth that if any of those held at SWAPO camps had been mistreated by their captors "then the SWAPO leadership is obligated to bring such an officer to book".

"We don't condone torture under any circumstances.

"If that happened I apologise to them and to their parents.

"We considered them as spies, but not as enemies," Mr Gurirab, who has just returned from 27 years in exile, told his audience.

Comparing the former detainees identified as SWAPO spies with members of the SWA [South-West Africa] Territory Force and the Koevoet [Crowbar] police counter insurgency unit, "brainwashed" to defend South Africa and apartheid, Mr Gurirab called them "our own children killing their own people".

"We, through our network, but not without heavy sacrifices, were able to identify and break this network of spies.

"We recognised they were brainwashed and we decided to detain them during the course of the war."

When SWAPO and South Africa signed the ceasefire ending the 23-year-long bush war in Namibia, the organisation's Central Committee decided to release them, Mr Gurirab said.

United Nations representatives as well as the international media had access to the detainees and their numbers were verified by UN personnel.

"Some of them decided to stay in SWAPO and some decided to leave."

On Tuesday [4 July], 154 former SWAPO detainees were brought back to Namibia under the auspices of the UN High Commission for Refugees, with the International Committee of the Red Cross having assisted in tracing families of those returning.

At a press conference on Thursday they displayed scars from alleged beatings and torture sessions, vowing to unite to prevent a SWAPO government coming to power.

"That was the objective they were recruited for in the first place," Mr Gurirab pointed out.

In a conciliatory speech, Mr Gurirab—expected to become an independent Namibia's first foreign affairs minister if SWAPO wins the November poll—reminded young supporters not to glorify weapons of war.

"There was a time for bazookas and AK-47s. Now is the time for registration and voting," he said.

"The chapter of fighting is closed, but remember your history as standard bearers of the long and bitter struggle," he urged.

Turning to election issues he told the audience that where land rights were concerned a SWAPO government would see to it that "nothing will be taken from individuals or communities."

"You will all be protected under the law."

"We want to make the land productive, while trying to apply modern methods."

Where ownership of private property was concerned, that would also be protected under law, and skilled artisans in Rehoboth should expand, taking their skills into the rest of the country.

Referring to the special status of the Rehoboth gebied [area] proclaimed by a South African act of Parliament, Mr Gurirab pointed out that Rehoboth, which had sought autonomy, "cannot become a republic to itself", otherwise it would end up with the same status as South African homelands like Transkei and Venda. An independent Rehoboth was "the stillborn dream" of its leader, Kaptein [Captain] Hans Diergaardt.

"How the country is divided up and administered will be decided by elected representatives in parliament in an independent Namibia."

Turning to the allegation that SWAPO was an exclusively Ovambo party, Mr Gurirab stressed that "all tribes and communities are represented in the leadership and membership of SWAPO." The idea of "Ovambo gevaar [threat]", he said, was one that was brought in from outside the country.

"Beware of the antics and manipulations of the oppressor, as long as he is exploiting or ruling over us it is fine," he said, but the moment independence dawned these various fears would be exploited.

Ending his address with the subject "which gives me great pain"—the issue of the young Namibians who fought "their brothers" in police and army units and as South African spies—he called on the audience to let peace and freedom envelope the Namibian national and "let us heal the wounds (of war)".

### **Denies Detainee Torture Charges**

*MB1107201489 London BBC World Service in English  
1515 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] America's assistant secretary of state for African affairs, Herman Cohen, who is on a visit to Namibia, has expressed concern at reports that not all detainees have been released from SWAPO camps in Angola. Last week over 150 Namibians were repatriated, and some alleged they have been tortured in detention. SWAPO maintains that people were detained because they spied for South

Africa. On the line to Windhoek, Josephine Hazeley asked SWAPO's foreign affairs secretary, Theo-Ben Gurirab, how he reacts to the allegations of torture:

[Begin recording] [Gurirab] As far as the question of torture is concerned, I want to be absolutely clear on this question. SWAPO leadership has always condemned torture as a form of policy as practiced by South Africans and others. And, therefore, there has never an instance in which SWAPO leadership ordered officers in charge of those individuals to practice torture on them. If, I underline if, there were instances of torture, SWAPO leadership condemns such practices and I personally apologize to the individuals concerned and to relatives if there are established cases of torture.

[Hazeley] So what will the leadership do in terms of investigating these charges of....

[Gurirab, interrupting] No, we are not going to set up a commission of inquiry. We already have within SWAPO organs that are competent to deal with this kind of matter. It is for us to decide as to who was responsible, and to establish the facts of a given case.

[Hazeley] But if the allegations of torture are found to be true, what will you do; what will SWAPO do with the guilty members?

[Gurirab] We will decide. We have our own regulations. I am not here to be a judge and jury as to what we will do. It would be very strange for an individual like myself, however senior official I am of SWAPO, to pretend to be the judge, jury, and to pass verdict on matters that are at this point merely speculative.

[Hazeley] Mr Gurirab, what are conditions like in your camps, because the ex-detainees that we spoke to gave a [words indistinct] account of the state of the camps, and they said some of them were kept in like sardines, in tins.

[Gurirab] We were fighting a war. All of (?us) lived under conditions of hardship. You could not have expected to be treated better than what the rest of the community was treated. They are alive, they have come back home, they have the good fortune of being able to be interviewed by BBC and other news media. Many of Namibian brave sons and daughters died as a result of the espionage (?work) carried out by them in cahoot with South Africa.

[Hazeley] But, Mr Ben Gurirab, some of the detainees claim that SWAPO still have in its camps quite a number of prisoners of war.

[Gurirab] That's an outrageous lie and I hope that these people would be taken up on the allegations and charges that they are making. If they know people that have been killed, let them produce names. I hope that they will be allowed to go back where they came from to identify the graves of these people.



[Hazeley] So, are you saying that SWAPO has no more prisoners of war in any of its camps?

[Gurirab] They were not prisoners of war. That's your word. They were not even political prisoners. They are people who were engaged in espionage, that were detained, and we have released all of them—201 in number. They are the only ones that we held under our authority. [end recording]

#### U.S. Concern for SWAPO Detainees 'Ironic'

MB1107100089 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English  
7 Jul 89 p 7

[Editorial: "Ironies of the State Department"]

[Text] Is it not ironic that the U.S. State Department this week expressed its "deep concern" about allegations that SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] detainees had been tortured—especially when considered in view of the fact that the State Department had never once expressed anything, let alone "deep concern," over the scores of Namibians who were tortured by the security police, Koevoet [Crowder police counterinsurgency unit] and the South African Defence Force over the years.

In almost four years, this newspaper alone had documented scores of cases in which Namibians have been detained without trial and tortured by their interrogators. We have photographic evidence of this, and such cases have been brought out in court.

Why did the U.S. State Department keep silent on these cases?

Could it be that because the Republican Administration has always condoned South Africa's presence in Namibia, it has thus never felt the need to "express concern" whenever South Africa perpetrated the most horrific atrocities against the Namibian people?

It seems to this newspaper that Washington has adopted the same strategy as Pretoria as far as its efforts to prevent a SWAPO victory are concerned.

Human rights abuses committed by South Africa in Namibia have generally been ignored by the governments of America, Britain and West Germany. The time is long past for these governments to start making pronouncements on what have for so long been everyday aspects of life in Namibia—such as detention, torture, rape and murder.

When we needed them to speak out, they remained silent. Now, with an opportunity to smear the name of SWAPO, those such as the U.S. Government are suddenly issuing statements reeking of a false sense of indignant outrage.

We call on these governments to put an immediate end to such blatant displays of opportunistic hypocrisy.

Similarly, the U.S. Government should put on public record its sentiments about the fact that South African continues to hold political prisoners it should have released on July 1; as well as the controversial question of continued Koevoet presence in the ranks of the police force responsible for law and order during the "free and fair" election period.

#### DTA Statement Criticizes SWAPO Manifesto

MB0607180289 Johannesburg SAPA in English  
1745 GMT 6 Jul 89

[SAPA PR wire service; press statement issued by the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA]—"Ignorance or Fraud? SWAPO's Election Manifesto"]

[Text] 6 July 1989 [dateline as received]—Who is SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] trying to fool? We all know that electoral politics is a special art, but the SWAPO Central Committee has gone further than anyone in the history of politics has ever dared to go before, in presenting its "election manifesto" to the voters of Namibia.

Does the SWAPO Central Committee really think Namibians are so gullible that they will believe the nonsense dished up in this manifesto? If so, they both insult and underestimate the intelligence of our people.

Or did SWAPO write the manifesto for a different audience, an international one, which had become increasingly disturbed by the shockingly bad judgment displayed by Mr Nujoma—in sending over three hundred young Namibians to their deaths in the first week of April, after peace had already been achieved—and which had started to warn SWAPO that no help would be forthcoming if the movement did not mend its ways. Is the manifesto just an attempt to appeal to Western governments and business already disillusioned with SWAPO, so soon after making its acquaintance?

If so, it has already failed. As one Western diplomat was quoted as saying in Windhoek on July 4, it is a "jargon-filled document with no surprises". Another international official is reported to have said:

"So what is new? It sounds good in principle. Look at the Constitution of the (East) German Democratic Republic. In theory it sounds wonderful".

There is only one other possibility. The SWAPO authors may actually believe what they have written; they may be acting in ignorance, but in good faith. But this seems almost incredible.

Why are we being so critical? What is wrong with SWAPO's manifesto?



- Firstly, it demonstrates either startling ignorance of economic and social reality, or a total disregard of the truth. Do we want stupid or patently dishonest people in our national leadership?
- Secondly, it makes clear that the authors have no practical experience in running a country, managing an economy or balancing a budget. Are we prepared to entrust our precious national resources to a group of incompetent amateurs, determined to reinvent the wheel in the age of space travel?
- Thirdly, it displays a commitment to an outdated and demonstrably unsuccessful ideology—that of doctrinaire socialism—an ideology that has already, to the shame of its promoters, destroyed the economies of most African states and which is being abandoned in the home of “scientific socialism”, the Soviet Union itself. With even the most committed scientific socialists having learned from experience and turned their backs on this pernicious ideology, do we Namibians wish to entrust our economy to those who are determined to destroy the country in the name of “egalitarianism”.
- Fourthly, it shows that SWAPO is determined to subordinate Namibia’s right to national self-determination, to SWAPO’s commitment to international solidarity with the “world revolutionary process”, here described as “international solidarity” in the struggle for “freedom and social justice” and the “democratization of international political and economic relations”.

Do we want to exchange one set of colonial masters and one foreign agenda for another? Of course not.

The one element of SWAPO’s manifesto that is truly appealing is its profession of commitment to liberty and social justice, is moreover brutally contradicted by the movement’s record.

SWAPO’s callous disregard for the rights of its own members to personal liberty is clear from the vicious treatment meted out to those—men and women, and, incredibly, their children, too—who dared to contradict or criticise the movement’s leaders. Detention without trial, torture, burial alive in pits in the ground, rape and murder—often explained away as suicide—were their fate. Just ask the group of former detainees held by SWAPO who have recently returned to Namibia. Is this what SWAPO means by “social justice”?

The manifesto contains a number of ominous phrases suggesting that this may indeed be the case. SWAPO suggests that the concept “brotherhood of mankind” should be interpreted as requiring that “...individuals should subordinate their own personal interests to the greater good of all”. Who is to determine what this greater good is in any particular case? The state or the party, which has stood in the “vanguard of the struggle”?

The manifesto suggests disturbingly that Namibia’s judges “...have upheld repressive laws and excused murders, atrocities and other forms of abuses which the colonial state power committed against the Namibian people”. None with experience of the rigorous standards of justice in our courts would accept this calumny. But SWAPO intend to provide “leadership... in a democratic Namibia” in requiring a judiciary appointed on the basis of a particular “legal philosophy and ideological disposition”, to establish “a new legal system”.

Perhaps this explains the observation that the new bill of fundamental rights advocated by SWAPO should be “radically different” from all those previously applied in Namibia. Any bill providing that individual rights are to be subordinated to the “greater good of all” as defined by the party, and that appointments to the judiciary are to be made on the basis of “ideological disposition”, would indeed be different.

But only those whose view of liberty is wholly perverted by ideology could conceive of this as constituting “liberty and social justice”.

SWAPO’s catalogue of social programmes makes clear that its leaders have no new ideas to contribute to the future of Namibia. Their labour programme, apart from the fact that it fails to recognise that influx control, the migrant labour system and residential segregation were abolished over ten years ago, is modelled on recommendations of the Wiehahn Commission, their paragraphs on housing are lifted from the report of the select committee on housing appointed by the erstwhile National Assembly and chaired by Mr Dirk Mudge. Their section on education draws on government reports, the speeches of Mr Andrew Matjila...and their own remarkable imaginations. According to SWAPO “...only a handful of Namibians could matriculate.” This must come as a surprise to the 1500 young men and women who passed that examination in 1988 alone.

Despite visits to Mr Geingob’s UN Institute for Namibia in Lusaka by members of the teaching staff of the academy, SWAPO appears to be unaware of the existence of the University of Namibia, the Namibia technikon and the Windhoek College for Out-of-School Science, Economic and Management Sciences; nor nursing and medical science at a university; nor programmes for management and administration, secretarial training or accounting and information systems at a technikon; nor a variety of technical and commercial certificate courses offered by the college for out-of-school education. This will surprise the teaching faculty and administration staff and the several thousand students who study at these institutions.

SWAPO’s health “policy” pretends that hospitals are segregated and no Primary Health Care programme [PHC] exists. They “wish away” 500 PHC nurses, over 3000 other nurses, some 30 specialist physicians, 250 other doctors, 40 health inspectors and 70 pharmacists,

over 7100 hospital beds, more than 150 clinics and a national primary health care service at 360 fixed points across the country, so that they can say that they "...will establish a nationwide network of public health centres, clinics and hospitals".

While SWAPO's leaders have been living in luxury abroad and wasting the lives of Namibia's youth in an unsuccessful and unnecessary "armed struggle," the DTA and other Namibians have been eradicating "apartheid" and building the future.

The depth of ignorance of public finance and economic management displayed by SWAPO's leaders in their manifesto is just as disturbing. Despite all the evidence available on the destructive effects of socialist economic policies, SWAPO feels obliged to proclaim its "...belief in the moral superiority of socialism over capitalism". Noting that "...change will have to be brought about..." the manifesto notes that "...the state will have ownership of a significant part of the country's economic resources". It then continues:

"No wholesale nationalization of the mines, land, and other productive sectors is, however, envisaged in the foreseeable future". What are we to conclude? Will partial nationalisation be undertaken in the foreseeable future, or wholesale nationalisation in the distant future?

The section of the manifesto dealing with economic policy is so riddled with jargon and inherent contradictions as to be unintelligible. Most of the objectives are commonplace—to increase agriculture production and achieve an appropriate product mix, to reinvest a portion of the revenue generated by the mining sector in building economic growth in less well-developed sectors of the economy, to reduce urban-rural disparities of income and opportunity wherever possible. We have advocated—and pursued with some success—these policies for several years. But the SWAPO manifesto is silent on the means to achieve these ends, the authors obviously lack the knowledge and the skill to identify them.

Instead, they have engaged in cheap political rhetoric—they would simply take Walvis Bay instead of negotiating, never mind South Africa's superior capacity to apply force; buy mining equipment in Europe, North America and the Pacific, despite the vast drain this would imply on Namibia's foreign reserves; "...establish specialised state institutions of tertiary or higher education... in all districts," although we will not have more than 10,000 persons passing out of the secondary school system in one year at any time in the next five years. Grandiose promises of (a number of) medical and nursing schools take no account of the incredibly high cost of establishing and maintaining such institutions.

No understanding of the impact on investment and current economic activity, of significantly higher taxes—necessary to pay for even a fraction of the state expenditure envisaged in the manifesto—is apparent from SWAPO's document. If any government were to apply the sort of economic policies the manifesto calls for, the country would be bankrupted in less than five years. Ironically, the conservative approach suggested in the section on public finance would preclude most of the proposals made elsewhere in the document. The authors are either economically illiterate or exceptionally cynical.

Substantial foreign investment could, of course, assist the government of an independent Namibia to increase its revenues to fund social projects. Responsible investors also create social programmes for their workers and the community of which they are a part. But SWAPO's manifesto, like the speech delivered by Mr Geingob at the business international conference in London in April this year, scares off potential foreign investors, convincing them that the authors understand nothing of economic principles. Implementation of SWAPO's economic programme would therefore not lead to improved social conditions, but to lower rates of investment and economic development and rapidly rising levels of unemployment.

The sections of the manifesto on the youth, the Armed Forces, the mass media and the electoral process give cause for further alarm. SWAPO stands indicted for having wasted the lives of thousands of Namibia's youth in a fruitless and destructive war. Now they are constrained to admit that those of their cadres who have survived, need "...a comprehensive programme of rehabilitation, involving skills and training".

In true Soviet-bloc style, they propose a ministry of youth affairs, and make the foolish and meaningless promise that "... (y)outh representation in decision-making structures of government at all levels will be guaranteed..." The army, we are told, "...will recruit all loyal and able-bodied Namibians of the age between 17 and 45 years". One wonders who will be left to engage in economic activity. Those "soldiers of liberation" who died in the struggle "will be recognised and honoured as national heroes and heroines. Their families will be looked after by the state".

What about the Namibians who were murdered in cold blood by those "heroes" - the Kapuuo, Shiyagayas and so many others? Furthermore, as no less than 10,000 cadres have been sent to their deaths by Mr Nujoma and his henchmen, how is the state going to pay for the maintenance of their families. Perhaps SWAPO's leaders should undertake this burden themselves.

The principle of "freedom of the press" is considerably diminished by the unvarnished statement that:

"The mass media in Namibia will subscribe to the United Nations new international information order..."

Is this another example of the interests of the individual being subordinated to what the party determines is the greater good of all? No wonder the bill of rights will have to be radically different. Has no-one, moreover, told SWAPO that the campaign in favour of a [word indistinct] has lost international favour and that the UNESCO secretary-general whose brainchild it was, has lost his job?

Lastly, but perhaps most importantly, the dishonesty of the authors appears from an awkwardly-phrased passage in the section on the electoral process. Ashamed to say that SWAPO, which despite its protestations that it always sought an electoral test was in fact determined to "seize power" in Namibia until it was prevented from doing so, now wishes to institute a one-party state, the manifesto coyly says: "The scheduled independence election will be a multi-party contest which will hopefully provide indication of the Namibian people's preference of political party system".

We have news for you, Mr Nujoma. The constitutional principles to which SWAPO, like other parties, agreed in 1982, and which the UN secretary-general has confirmed are binding on all parties, guarantee a multi-party system after independence as well. What's more, Mr Nujoma, the people of Namibia want true democracy, not one-party dictatorship masquerading as "people's democracy". They will make that clear in November. SWAPO is not going to win the electoral contest. The DTA is.

[Signed] M. Muyongo, senior vice president, Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA).

**DTA's Dirk Mudge Discusses SWAPO Policy**  
MB0707193089 Johannesburg International Service  
in English 1500 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Interview with Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA) Chairman Dirk Mudge by Chris Renkin from the "Africa South" program; date, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Mudge] Of course we feel strongly that all political prisoners must be released, including those held by the administrator general [AG]. But on the other hand, the AG probably has in mind to use this as a lever to force SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] to release those prisoners and we feel strongly about that. We want all the SWAPO detainees to be released.

[Renkin] Coming back to UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] and its impartiality, or lack thereof: In recent months there have been quite a number of allegations of intimidation by both sides in Namibia, but [words indistinct] by Mr Ahtisaari and Mr Eckhard and others of the UN administration seem to concentrate on allegations of intimidation by SWAPO and former

Koevoet [Crowbar—police counterinsurgency unit] members in SWAPOL [South-West African Police] and not so much about allegations of intimidation against SWAPO.

[Mudge] I want to be very frank about this. Of course we are very much against intimidation from whatever side it comes, but it is clear to me that SWAPO always tries to prepare the road to their plans, what they have in mind. Now, only yesterday we read in the SWAPO newspaper that many PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] fighters have returned to Namibia against the rules. In other words they violated the agreement and instead of coming through designated entry points, they just crossed the border. Well, probably without arms, but still that is a violation. Now all the fuss that SWAPO has made about SWAPOL [words indistinct] was just an effort to prepare the ground for what they were planning at that stage—in other words, a violation of the agreement. When one talks about intimidation, what is intimidation? I mean, someone has still got to define that. As far as I'm concerned just an ordinary streetfight is not intimidation. The real danger in terms of intimidation is where people are in fear of their lives, when they feel threatened. And this is exactly what SWAPO is doing. And the one thing they don't want is a police force to keep them under control. My party's view is that whenever a member of the police force, of SWAPOL, if they would in any way do anything they should be taken to court [words indistinct] but now to expect the administrator general to withdraw SWAPOL from Ovamboland, that would be a moral victory for SWAPO.

[Renkin] SWAPO must surely be aware of the fact that its, the fact that its PLAN members are so [word indistinct] south of the 16th parallel in Angola and that there have violations of the border [words indistinct] in recent days is a violation of the peace accords for southwestern Africa. In one of the pro-SWAPO newspapers, recently the front page headline says "PLAN Is Back." In other words they admit that they have been infiltrating in violation. How do you account for this?

[Mudge] Well the fact is what I've just said is that they have prepared the ground for this. They have started attacking the government, the administrator general, they are complaining about more or less everything and then they come and they violate the agreements. You see, this is a form of intimidation. When they say PLAN is back then they are in fact telling the people: Be careful, the PLAN is here and you might be hurt if you vote for the wrong party.

[Renkin] This sort of behavior on the part of SWAPO on 1 April seemed to have boomeranged to some extent against SWAPO. Why do you think they are trying a repetition?

[Mudge] Well, this is not as serious as it was during the first week of April, but you know SWAPO has lost a lot of its glamor all over and I think in general they are not



as popular in the international world as they used to be. They are even now losing support in Namibia. You know that the fact is that SWAPO has always been engaged in a military struggle and that they have never participated in a peaceful and democratic process. It is very obvious that they are very inexperienced, and they started making mistakes and now that we put them under pressure they are making even more mistakes.

[Renkin] So they hanging themselves with their own rope?

[Mudge] I think so; I think so, yes. I think SWAPO will now for the first time be subjected to a democratic process and time will tell whether they will be able to cope with this. My impression is, especially looking at their manifesto, my impression is that they are very inexperienced, ignorant in many ways and that they are going to frustrate the people. If they should really come to power, they will have very serious problems after the election.

[Renkin] Mr Mudge, talking of manifestos. Your party, the DTA, and SWAPO issued their election manifestos practically simultaneously. Would you like to highlight some of the principal differences.

[Mudge] Well, now look, in the first place, I think SWAPO, in its preamble to both its draft constitution and its manifesto, emphasizes that that this process is a result of the revolutionary struggle. Now I think this is, of course, very disturbing because one gets the impression that if it is the result of the so-called revolutionary struggle against the racist oppression, that if things go wrong for them, they will again resort to violence or to at least undemocratic procedures.

What is also very disturbing is their economic policy. Apart from the fact that it based on, as I would call it, false assumptions, when for instance [word indistinct] except that Namibia is a fabulously rich country, they come with a very, very ambitious plans for the future which they will never be able to enforce. So its only an election manifesto. That is what it is.

Secondly, another disturbing element is their commitment to socialism; and they make a very strong point out of this. And if you, now think, that in all parts of the world the trend is against socialism. And now in Namibia SWAPO wants to experiment again with a system that has failed them in all other parts of the world. So, we feel that this is definitely not in the interests of the country when they say that SWAPO does not conceal its belief in the moral superiority of socialism over capitalism.

**SWAPO Plan To 'Undermine Business Confidence'**  
*MB1007123489 Johannesburg THE STAR in English  
10 Jul 89 p 3*

[By Kaizer Nyatumba]

[Text] SWAPO's [South-West African People's Organization] radical rhetoric as expressed in its election manifesto would undermine business confidence in a SWAPO-ruled Namibia and scare away potential investors, said Professor Ben van Rensburg of the University of South Africa. In an exclusive interview with THE STAR Professor van Rensburg, who three months ago completed an ASSOCOM [Association of Chamber of Commerce (SA [South Africa])-commissioned study on the implications for South Africa of an independent Namibia, said SWAPO's manifesto was bound to influence business confidence negatively.

"I think SWAPO ought to be very careful because the economy is not run by general voters but by businessmen who care about making profits," he said.

He was surprised by the organisation's sudden change of tone. It was unnecessary for it to do so since "it is going to win the elections anyway."

Professor van Rensburg said he had spoken to businessmen from different countries, including the United States and Switzerland and, "although they will not say this in public, they agree with me that once a SWAPO government loses the confidence of the business community in that country, they will also lose the confidence of the rest of the world".

He said the three things in SWAPO's economic policy which would hasten businessmen away were:

The organisation was coming out stronger on the policy of nationalisation, even though it was not saying exactly what it was going to nationalise.

It was also coming out strongly with the idea of taking away unoccupied white farms which caused fear and mistrust.

The organisation did not try to reassure public servants that their jobs were secure and that normal hiring and firing practices would be maintained.

"I find it strange that Mr Nujoma is unable to learn from the experiences of the countries around him," Professor van Rensburg said.

Spokesmen for both ASSOCOM and the Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce said they had not yet read SWAPO's election manifesto, and could therefore not comment on the country's business prospects under a SWAPO government.

The president of the Windhoek Chamber of Commerce, Mr D. Matthews, said his organisation's policy was not to comment on any manifesto because it wanted to stay out of politics.

Meanwhile there has been widespread condemnation in journalistic circles overseas of SWAPO's intention to introduce government registration of both newspapers and journalists. The International Press Institute, the International Federation of Journalists and the National Union of Journalists have all expressed opposition to SWAPO's manifesto which they say will muzzle the press and corrode freedom of speech.

**DTA Rejects 'Situation' at Reception Centers**  
*MB1007083689 Windhoek Domestic Service*  
*in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 9 Jul 89*

[Text] Mishake Muyongo, Democratic Turnhalle Alliance [DTA] senior vice president, says the Alliance will no longer tolerate the situation prevailing at reception centers north of Windhoek.

Muyongo says UNTAG's [UN Transition Assistance Group] actions have lately led to questions concerning the possible [word indistinct] of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO]. He says [words indistinct] the impression that the United Nations is creating [word indistinct] for SWAPO in the country.

**NP Leader Meets SWAPO Election Directorate**  
*MB0507083389 Johannesburg SAPA in English*  
*0832 GMT 5 Jul 89*

[Text] Windhoek, July 5, SAPA—The leader of the SWA [South-West African] National Party [NP], Mr Kosie Pretorius, paid a visit to SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] Headquarters in Windhoek today where he met the election directorate and received a signed copy of the SWAPO election manifesto.

After the cordial meeting, which was initiated by Mr Pretorius, he said the SWA NP executive and SWAPO leaders would meet in the future to discuss aspects of the election manifesto.

SWAPO election director, Mr Hage Geingob, stressed Mr Pretorius represented the whites in Namibia who were needed to stay on in the country after independence.

"We are looking forward to meeting the NP executive and must start a future where we can accommodate all Namibians," he told reporters.

**'Almost 20 Percent' of Eligible Voters Register**  
*MB1107194889 Windhoek Domestic Service*  
*in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[Text] Nationwide, almost 20 percent of the estimated number of people eligible to vote in the November elections have registered at registration points to date. A total of 122,463 people have registered since the process began officially last Monday [3 July]. It is estimated that there are about 677,000 people who qualify to register for the election.

**Workers Party Wants Tribal Self-Determination**  
*MB1007120789 Windhoek THE TIMES OF NAMIBIA*  
*in English 5 Jul 89 p 5*

[Text] Ethnic groups should have an unconditional right to self-determination, including the right to break away from independent Namibia if they wanted to.

This Verwoerdian ideal comes not from the NP [National Party]/SWA [South-West Africa], but a recent pamphlet by Namibia's very own Trotskyite vanguard, the Workers' Revolutionary Party [WRP].

This is the only democratic way to build a nation, especially in the light of the "tribal SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] leadership", according to the pamphlet.

The WRP says it does not encourage tribes to break away and supports one nation under a central government.

However, this nation has to be built democratically on the reality that the Namibian people comprised a de-tribalised urban population as well as several "national, tribal or ethnic groupings like the Namas, Damaras, Owambos, Kavangos etc."

Forcing these groups into a united Namibia with one central government is a recipe for civil war and they should have the freedom to choose to belong to the Namibian nation.

Recognising tribal areas is "the only way we can convince them to help form a democratic nation under a central government," according to the WRP.

"Enough land has to be taken away from absentee landowners and capitalists and added to ethnic reserves to satisfy the needs of the dispossessed rural population.

"Each national or tribal group will then also have the right to break away from Namibia."

The WRP adds that nation-building is impossible under "capitalist exploitation", because it relies on cheap labour from the ethnic reserves.

"Therefore only a working class government based on a non-exploitative policy can build a democratic nation, free of racism and which can prevent tribal resistance and isolation."

In a section headlined "Remarks", the pamphlet says the WRP rejects South Africa's homeland policy, which "impoverished tribes".

"This is the opposite of self-determination. The WRP further rejects the tribally-based 'sole representative' status awarded to the SWAPO leadership by the imperialists, which they have used to drive tribes like the Hereros, Basters, Namas and Damaras into tribal defence and isolation."

**'So-called Peace Plan' Brings 'Faintest' Peace**  
MB1107105089 Windhoek WINDHOEK ADVERTISER  
in English 7 Jul 89 p2

[Editorial: "Pandora's Box"]

[Text] The time has come for Southwesterners to realise that the so-called peace plan has thus far brought us everything but the faintest sign of peace.

The election campaign that we are involved in is totally different to what any of us have been used to until now.

Bullets and bombs may not be flying, but the war has not stopped.

How is it possible to talk of peace when certain people are coming into an election campaign with—so we have been told by reliable sources—the following:

- 1,600 armed PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] fighters positively identified amongst the refugees that had returned;
- with PLAN fighters in certain UNTAG [UN Transition Assistance Group] contingents;
- with certain UNTAG contingents armed to the brim;
- with SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] slowing down the returning of refugees to the extent—so we believe—that it is 52 percent behind schedule;
- with SWAPO making an awful fuss about Koevoet [Crowbar police counterinsurgency unit] whilst Koevoet are not even operational;
- with PLAN still south of the 16th Parallel;
- with the Cubans still in Angola.

UNTAG, the UN, the Five Western Powers, South Africa, and yes, the world must take serious note that we Southwesterners lived here in peace and minded our own business.

The implementation of Res. 435 has brought adverse effects with it.

No peace. No harmony. No love. No caring. No blessing.

Of all things Res. 435 has brought with it a curse.

There is no difference between the implementation of Res. 435 to what there was on opening Pandora's box.

And the irony of it all is that we were not allowed to have any part in the whole thing, and we are glad that we did not.

If it was left to us to gain independence we would surely have made a grand success of it.

**Louis Pienaar Lacks Skills, Sensitivity for Job**  
MB1107101589 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English  
7 Jul 89 p 6

["Political Perspective" column, by Gwen Lister]

[Text] The man appointed by the South African Government to 'impartially' oversee Namibia's transition to independence, namely, the Administrator General, Mr Louis Pienaar, is providing increasing proof to the people of this country that he may not be the right man for the job. Mr Pienaar consistently engages in childish, tit-for-tat responses, rather than tackling the root causes of problems arising in Namibia in the present phase of run-up to UN-supervised elections.

This week Mr Pienaar proved by his response to the crisis in the far north, that he is not able to act in an 'impartial' manner. When it was announced that the workforce of the north would go on a three-day strike protesting the continued presence of Koevoet [Crowbar police counterinsurgency unit] members in the SWA [South-West African] Police [SWAPOL] Force, Mr Pienaar, instead of tackling the root cause of the problem, resorts to the 'kragdadigheid' [show of force] for which the white South African National Party is notorious.

Instead of scrutinising carefully the present and future effect of Koevoet in the police force, having more than enough documentary proof at his disposal that the former counterinsurgency force are unable to act like normal policemen would, Mr Pienaar threatens to go to court about the 'illegality' of the strike.

The legality or illegality of the strike itself is almost irrelevant at this stage: the fact is that it is symptomatic of the feelings of the people of the far north about the Koevoet question. Their attitude is quite plainly, that it is impossible to deal with Koevoet, and that nothing short of their complete dismissal from SWAPOL and confinement to base, will bring the situation in the region back to one in which the climate can be described as 'free and fair' and therefore conducive to the holding of independence elections.

We wonder, up to now, who Mr Pienaar has consulted on the question of Koevoet. Primarily the police themselves, we suspect. Has he not got the sensitivity to put



aside his political fervour for a moment, and look at the effect that the counter insurgency unit has had in the far north in the past few weeks: members of Koevoet, in SWAPOL garb, continue to intimidate and harass primarily pro-SWAPO [South-West Africa People's Organization] elements in the far north; numerous 'monitoring missions' to Namibia have advised the recall of Koevoet; the UN [United Nations] themselves have expressed serious reservations about working with people of this nature; and the list goes on and on. And yet Mr Pienaar, presumably on the instructions of his government, refuses to budge. In the final analysis, if Koevoet remains in SWAPOL, it could seriously jeopardise the outcome of the elections in Namibia. It could further result in the election process being nullified, if something drastic is not done in the very near future.

It does not help for Mr Pienaar and General Hans Dreyer (former Koevoet chief) who heads the police contingent in the far north, to state that PLAN [People's Liberation Army of Namibia] combatants are 'infiltrating' the region, and that Koevoet's continued presence is necessary under the circumstances. We want proof of this alleged 'infiltration'. Not even the UN can verify it. This apparent figment of the imagination is, in any case, highly doubtful.

What purpose could possibly be served if SWAPO encouraged combatants to infiltrate rather than to return legally, as many former fighters have already done? Besides which, they were all monitored to base by the UN, and verified besides, at Chibemba in Angola beyond the 16th parallel.

Many fighters are back in Namibia where they have only their hands with which to defend themselves. They came back as all other refugees came back and went through customs—legally and legitimately.

SWAPO would plainly be 'committing suicide' to infiltrate fighters into Namibia, particularly after the events of April 1, and would stand to gain nothing by such a move. Already much of the leadership have returned, openly indicating their eagerness to contest the pending elections. They would do not take Mr Pienaar's claim seriously in this regard.

In addition, his lack of sensitivity on other issues is abundantly evident: instead of complying with the letter and spirit of 435 and release political prisoners, he and his spokesmen engage in tit-for-tat responses, failing to release their own political prisoners.

His claims about the SWABC's [South-West African Broadcasting Corporation] status are highly questionable: saying SWABC is 'not a government institution', he hides behind the so-called 'corporate' image of the radio and television monopoly. It is well known that he himself appoints the board of the SWABC, and that they are answerable to him.

Overall, Mr Pienaar has proved he lacks the skills required for his present job description. He also lacks the sensitivity necessary and required by his position at a time such as this. So far, Namibians have not demanded his recall in any great numbers, but if he continues to act in this manner, his demise may be imminent.

#### **Union Membership Grows at 'Rapid Pace'**

MB1007120689 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN in English  
5 Jul 89 p 6

[Text] National membership of the National Union of Namibian Workers (NUNW) was currently 55,000 and 'growing at a rapid pace', said Mr Johnny ya Otto, newly-elected Secretary General, in a speech to the Namibia National Teachers Union (NANTU) over the weekend.

"Since the formation of industrial unions from 1986 onwards, workers in Namibia have received a number of services from the unions. While focussing on shop floor issues that arise from Namibia's harsh labour relations, trade unions in Namibia also play an important informative role as regards the wider socio-political realities", he said. "While we are supposedly heading for a 'free and fair election' under the UN supervision the events of the last two months have shown us that South Africa has no intention of abiding to the principles of neutrality" Mr ya Otto said.

"While South Africa [SA] still holds political power up to independence day we recognise the intensified need to keep our members in all parts of the country correctly informed by providing a counterweight to the propaganda produced by the SA-controlled dominant electronic and print media. We realise that in the coming period it is crucial that we do everything to unite our members by providing information" he added. It was vital at present that the organised working class be at the forefront of our struggle for national liberation. The organisational unity of the trade union movement would continue to 'throw the racists into further disarray' he said.

"An important feature of the militancy and class consciousness has been the consistent search for the organisational unity of the progressive and democratic trade union movement. This question has now moved to the centre of our political stage in our country. Great advances have already been made in this direction. We believe that no stone must be left unturned to solve this question since the unity of all anti-racist, anti-facist and democratic forces has become an indispensable condition for the further advance of our movement".

#### **RSA Funds Walvis Bay Military Construction**

MB1107171589 Windhoek THE WINDHOEK  
ADVERTISER in English 10 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] The South African [RSA] Defence Force is to spend R37 million in Walvis Bay.

R15 million will be towards a permanent military base out at Rooikop on the eastern perimeter of the port.

Another R22 million will be in respect of the military base in the town area along 5th Road/Union Street.

This was said to THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER yesterday afternoon by the Officer Commanding Walvis Bay Military Area, Col Tobie van Schalkwyk.

This announcement should make it quite clear to all those who claim that Walvis Bay should become part of SWA [South-West Africa]/Namibia, that the RSA [South Africa] is not even considering such.

The State President, Mr P.W. Botha some time ago at a meeting in Walvis Bay reiterated that as long as the Falkland Islands belonged to Britain and not to Argentina and Cabinda not to Angola but to Zaire, Walvis Bay would remain part of the RSA.

Tenders for the new permanent base will replace the temporary pre-fab accommodation at present out at Rooikop.

The base will provide accommodation for 1,500 troops, including ablution blocks, accommodation for 100 officers and for another 250 NCO's.

There will be a combined kitchen block and four messes.

Tenders for the construction of the new permanent base close on Monday July 17 and it is hoped to start with construction during August.

In respect of the military base in the town area Col Van Schalkwyk said that tenders would be called during the second half of 1990 for the construction of 88 permanent houses and a new headquarters complex.

This work was estimated would cost R22 million. Again this would replace the present pre-fab buildings and accommodation at the base.

Speaking on the military presence in Walvis Bay, Col Van Schalkwyk said that upwards of R100,000 was being spent by the men stationed here each month on luxuries all of which was purchased from dealers in Walvis Bay.

**Government Approves Ruacana Power Committee**  
*MB1107200489 Windhoek Domestic Service in Afrikaans 1900 GMT 11 Jul 89*

[Text] The local component of the joint technical commission of South-West Africa/Namibia and Angola on the reactivation of the Ruacana hydroelectric scheme has been approved by the administrator general. The Angolan Government has already approved the formation of such a committee. The joint commission is the result of three rounds of discussions between an Angolan

Government delegation and officials of SWAWEK [South-West Africa Electricity Corporation] and the Department of Water Affairs in Windhoek and Luanda.

**Zambia**

**Price Increases Announced for Petroleum Products**  
*MB0607204489 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 1800 GMT 6 Jul 89*

[Text] Zimco [Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation] has increased prices of petroleum products by nearly 60 percent from midnight tonight. The Zimco spokesman who announced the price increases today said that the new retail prices will vary depending on transport costs. He said that in Lusaka, petrol [words indistinct] which sells at 5 kwacha 15 ngwee, will now be sold at 8 kwacha 35 ngwee a liter; while regular, which is at 4 kwacha 56 ngwee, will be sold at 7 kwacha 38 ngwee. Gas oil will now cost 5 kwacha 5 ngwee instead of 3 kwacha 10 ngwee, and domestic paraffin will cost 4 kwacha 74 ngwee a liter instead of 2 kwacha 47 ngwee.

**Zimbabwe**

**Opposition Party Official on Harare By-election**  
*MB1007073889 London BBC World Service in English 0635 GMT 10 Jul 89*

[From the "Network Africa" program]

[Text] In Zimbabwe, the ruling party, ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union-Popular Front] has come out the winner in a by-election in a northern Harare constituency.

With a majority of 4,000 votes, the ZANU candidate defeated a challenge from the newly formed ZUM [Zimbabwe Unity Movement] party led by former ZANU dissident Mr Edgar Tekere.

The turnout of voters was low, and there was one hiccup: a long delay before counting of the votes began. No explanation was given for this delay, and there has been talk of irregularities in the poll.

Well, one person who certainly believes that there were irregularities for which ZANU should be held responsible is the ZUM party's agent in the by-election, Jerry Nyambuya.

In Harare, Julian Boudger asked him why:

[Begin recording] [Nyambuya] Because like I say, the minister of political affairs, Ushewokunze, was there, right at the polling station at Nyabira, where the rigging took place, and he was instructing the presiding officer there to admit those who were not registered on the voters' roll, and those are the people that he brought by

buses from various farming areas. In fact, the farming areas are outside the constituency and most of these were ferried from the northern area and the Makonde East area, which is near Zimba.

[Boudger] And you saw this yourself, did you?

[Nyambuya] I did. In fact, I did [word indistinct] what made him furious and ordered the police, through the presiding officer, to arrest me. In fact, I was ordered by the police to get out of the polling station, and I was kept in the police box. It was a temporary box, anyway, but I was kept in that box until the polling finished at 1130.

[Boudger] Now, a lot of people hearing this after hearing about the ZANU-PF victory will say: Oh, this is just sour grapes on the part of ZUM. What do you say to that?

[Nyambuya] The thing here is, we are very happy. In fact, we (?did) 3,000 votes that we have managed to grab, given the situation that we have been operating under, and we do not want to think that we are saying this

because we feel that we have been defeated. In fact, we feel that we have won this election. We feel very confident indeed, given this manifestation of political apathy by the mass of Zimbabwe not to turn out for voting. They definitely do not want ZANU-PF this time. This is why they did not turn up for voting.

[Boudger] Isn't the most likely reason for apathy, is that they do not think much of ZANU-PF, maybe, and they do not think much of you, either?

[Nyambuya] No, they think much of us, but they have not heard our agenda yet. They do not know what we are standing for. They only know that we have formed an opposition, but we have not been to them to tell them exactly what our program is.

[Boudger] Why is that?

[Nyambuya] Because the authorities have been barring us from doing that. [end recording]



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**DATE FILMED**

13 July 1989

